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THE ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA 1909 - 1927: UNITY IN DIVERSITY

by

© MARY DORIS BURTON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA 1909-1927: UNITY IN DIVERSITY submitted by MARY DORIS BURTON in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

The emergence of two Anglican theological colleges in Vancouver between 1910 and 1912, one high church, the other evangelical, was the Anglican church's initial response to a growing province's spiritual and social needs. By 1920, however, it was apparent that such duplication of money and energy was not meeting these needs. Hence, as a result of public demand and a spirit of unity that had gripped the Anglican church, men of vision within the British Columbian church were able to bring about the amalgamation of the two partisan colleges, forming a new Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, quite different from the central institution with its two affiliated halls that had existed prior to 1920.

The Anglican Theological College's greatest impact was not upon the society of which it was a part. It lacked the evangelical fervour necessary for effective social action. Furthermore, it was far too preoccupied with internal matters to be concerned with missionary outreach. Instead the college's greatest contribution was to the Anglican church in the creative and workable solution it presented to the problem of partisanship in theological education.

The primary material most heavily relied upon was found in the archives of the ecclesiastical province of British Columbia - minute books, the bishops' letterbooks,

biographical data, diocesan synod journals and publications of the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society.

Preface

This study might appear on the surface as a mere exercise in church history, a narrative of the birth of just another theological college. As H.H. Walsh states, however, "to know the Canadian community, it is of vital importance to know the Canadian churches."[1] In examining the emergence of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, therefore, the aim is to treat it as an aspect of Canadian social history. The church in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was an institution with not only a religious but also a civilizing mission. In a pioneer society, it was often the sole harbinger of education, the lone upholder of order and moderation in an otherwise structureless society, and, in the case of the Anglican church in Canada, often the only direct link with their homeland for many British immigrants.

Thus, the church in Canada played a dual role, sustaining the spiritual but also attempting to mould the secular and, in turn, being itself shaped and modified by the environment in which it exercised its mission. The Anglican Theological College was no exception.

I must confess that upon initial scrutiny of the topic, with only a cursory knowledge of Anglican dogma and polity, I anticipated controversy in situations that later revealed relative harmony, but encountered it in what first appeared to be still waters. These discoveries, coupled with a growing awareness of the strength of outside forces tugging at the heart strings of the college and of the forcefulness of the personalities within, presented a constant challenge, making this a most perplexing but nevertheless rewarding study.

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[1] H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 8.

Added interest stemmed from the fact that the Anglican Theological College had undergone, within the last two years, a further amalgamation with the United Church college to form the Vancouver School of Theology. The problems encountered in working out this scheme of co-operation in the 1970's are not unrelated or dissimilar to those of the 1920's.

My only regret is that the dearth of material concerning the high church enterprise, St. Mark's College, has created a certain imbalance in favour of its rival Latimer Hall. I have, nevertheless, tried to keep both in perspective.

Acknowledgments

I am most particularly grateful to Dr. L.G. Thomas for his support, encouragement and supervision across the miles. Few others would have had the patience to pore over, with such care, the hackneyed, handwritten chapters that arrived installment by installment from Vancouver. I am also obliged to the Rev. C. Williams, archivist of the Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia Archives, for opening the archives to my unrestricted use and for his assistance in uncovering obscure information just when I most needed it. I am also greatly indebted to Shirley Friesen, who so faithfully typed these pages and on such short notice.

To my husband, Keith, whose patient concern and unfailing optimism kept me going when I was more than prepared to throw all to the winds, I owe more than these few words can ever express.

M.D.B.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The early twentieth century brought an optimism and prosperity to British Columbia that had not been experienced before. In 1903, Richard McBride took the reins as the new Conservative premier. As M.A. Ormsby has stated,

> more than anyone else he typified the spirit of the age: the optimism which verged on recklessness. Sensing that British Columbia had some distinctive quality - not quite Canadian, or British, or American, or even a blend of all three - he dreamed of developing its vast natural resources through grandiose schemes which would make it almost an empire in itself.[1]

British Columbia's primary industries came into their own during this period. The great salmon runs of 1901 and 1905 set the canneries firmly on their feet. Mineshafts raised their heads in the Kootenay district, adding to the product of the already prosperous coal mines of Vancouver Island and the gold mines of the Cariboo. The smoke of the Trail smelters indicated the rise of related secondary industry. In fact, by 1906 mineral output in British Columbia comprised almost two-thirds of the Canadian total.[2] Lumbering was spurred on by increased trade with the Orient and the greater demand for building materials as immigrants flocked into the province. The Okanagan blossomed as one of Canada's greatest fruit growing regions.

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[1] M.A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillans, Copyright, 1958, Reprinted with corrections 1971), p. 336.

[2] *Ibid.*, 341.

The province was expanding rapidly. The city of Vancouver alone was growing at a rate of 1000 persons a month, reaching a total population of 110,000 by 1911.[3] From a total of 178,657 in 1901,[4] the province's population had leapt to 392,480 in 1911.[5] Greatly facilitating this rapid growth was the government's exhuberant railway policy. By 1916 at least four major railways were functioning in British Columbia, two of them transcontinental - the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Pacific Great Eastern and the Kettle River Valley railroads. An influx of European capital further expanded the market - five million of German capital into coal mining and real estate, one and a half million of French capital into real estate, and $950,000 of Belgium finance into fruit growing.[6]

The city of Vancouver was also witness to this prosperity. As Alan Morley states, by 1900 "an ordered, intelligent, functioning community had taken the place of a chaotic boom-town."[7] The city had developed character

[3] _Ibid._, 354.

[4] _Fourth Census of Canada 1901_, Volume I: _Population_ (Ottawa: S.E. Davison, 1902), p.2.

[5] _Fifth Census of Canada, 1911_, Volume II: _Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities, By Provinces, Districts and Sub-Districts_ (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1913), p.2.

[6] Ormsby, _British Columbia_, pp.357-359.

[7] Alan Morley, _Vancouver: From Milltown to Metropolis_ (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1961), p. 114.

and an alert self-awareness. Merchants prospered under the sound conservative principles of men like C.E. Tisdall, who boasted that his store offered the largest stock of sporting goods "west of Chicago."[8] Men like J.R. Seymour, James Z. Hall, Beaumont Boggs and Archibald Smith made their fortunes in wisely-handled real estate, for lots that sold for $8 a front foot in 1886, were selling for $4000 a front foot in 1911.[9] Point Grey,South Vancouver and Shaughnessy Heights superceded the West end as the home of the elite. To connect these suburban areas, street cars owned by B.C. Electric carried over 100,000 passengers a day.[10]

Elegance was the keynote of this Edwardian era. The Opera House, the Orpheum Theatre and English bath-houses symbolized the city's determination not to be left behind. Towers, turrets, monkey puzzle trees, clipped hollies and Chinese houseboys sprouted all over the more elite districts. Bowler hats and varnished gigs frequented main streets, while ladies in "correct driving habits" flocked to Stanley Park on fine afternoons.[11] Dances, teas and yachting parties completed the social whirl. The city delighted in the entertainment of royalty and treated

[8] Ibid., 120.
[9] Ibid., 122.
[10] Ibid., 128.
[11] Ibid., 119.

the Duke and Duchess of York (later George V and Mary) with parades, banquets and fireworks during their visit in 1901. It was a time of intense patriotism for the British crown, for in 1901, of a total population of 178,657, approximately 104,589 had emigrated from the British Isles,[12] and their fervour had been whipped to a pitch by the Boer War. British immigration continued until in 1911 nearly sixty-three percent of the province's population had been British born.[13]

The churches in British Columbia had attempted to keep pace with the rapidly growing province. The most successful, in terms of numbers, was the Anglican church, who reaped the rewards of continued immigration from Britain. In 1901, the Anglican church was the largest denomination in the province with a total of 40,996 adherents, almost twenty-three percent of the population of the province. The Presbyterians followed with 34,081, the Roman Catholics with 33,639, the Methodists with 25,047, and the Baptists with only 6,506. By 1911, the number of Anglicans had risen to 100,952, representing twenty-five percent of the province's total population.[14] To keep pace with its rapid expansion, the church found itself obliged to subdivide the original diocese formed in 1859 under the guidance of Bishop George Hills, which initially comprised the whole area west of the Rockies. Thus in 1879 the dioceses of Caledonia and New Westminster were created. The former covered the northern half of the province including the Queen Charlotte Islands. The territory was mountainous and heavily timbered, rich in coal, with a moist climate, and inhabited by a large and intelligent Indian population. In the twentieth century white population increased as the country was opened up by the gold rushes and the advent of the railway. The diocese of New Westminster originally comprised mainland British Columbia between the forty-ninth and fifty-fourth parallels. This was further partitioned into the diocese of Kootenay in 1899, covering the area east of the 120th longitude, and the diocese of Cariboo in 1914, which included the northern portion of the original diocese. What remained of the New Westminster diocese contained much of the province's population, including the city of Vancouver, and much of the fine farming lands of the lower Fraser Valley. Embodying one of Canada's largest seaports, it was here that many of the Oriental immigrants entered and subsequently settled, providing excellent opportunities for a port mission. The diocese of Kootenay encompassed the Okanagan fruit farming and cattle ranching districts. Lumbering and mining were also prominent. The Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific railways both assisted in opening up the territory so that the church was hard pressed to provide clergy for all new missions. The diocese of Cariboo comprised an area of 50,000 square miles with Kamloops as its centre. Indian work remained its chief emphasis, with missions spreading up the Fraser, Thompson and Nicola river valleys. There were, in addition, some three dozen scattered settlements of ranchers, farmers and fruit growers. The original diocese of British Columbia had shrunk to include Vancouver Island and all adjacent islands, an area of 17,000 square miles. Victoria, the centre of provincial government, demanded its greatest attention, but other parishes ran up the eastern coast from Duncan and Nanaimo to Alert Bay. The Columbia Coast Mission, with its sturdy boat, provided missionary services to isolated logging, mining and Indian settlements.[15] In 1914 the ecclesiastical province of British Columbia was formed and for the Anglican Church, as for the province in general, the future looked bright.

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[12] Fourth Census, Volume I, pp.284-85.

[13] Fifth Census, Volume II, pp.168-170.

[14] Ibid., 156.

Beneath this surface optimism, however, lay deep fissures within the social strata which were to bring the province much heartache and to present a direct challenge to the Anglican church and its mission. One of the most pronounced was racial tension.

In early years, encouraged by large corporations such as the Canadian Pacific Railroad and logging and mining companies, all of whom wanted cheap labour, many

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[15] All diocesan descriptions are taken from Year Book and Clergy List of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada (Toronto: Joseph P. Clougher, 1917), pp.71-75.

Chinese coolies had immigrated to British Columbia. By 1885, fear of unrestricted immigration led to the imposition of a head tax of $50 on all Oriental newcomers. In 1887, a riot involving both Oriental and Occidental indicated tensions were rife. By 1901 the Chinese and Japanese population in British Columbia had risen to 19,482 [16] and the head tax was increased to $100. By 1905, it was raised again - to $500. Two years later there was a large influx of Japanese immigrants, most from Hawaii where they had been stopped on route to the United States and excluded by new immigration laws there. In addition, 2,000 Sikhs arrived, and nearly 1,500 Chinese, despite the head tax.[17] In a heat of panic an Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver and the Chinese sector of the city invaded by hostile whites. Tension reached such a pitch that when the Komagata Maru anchored in Vancouver harbour in May 1914 with 376 East Indians on board, the British Columbia government refused to allow them ashore, sending them home with little courtesy. Coupled with the immigration crisis were the problems of temperance, Sunday observance, drug abuse, prostitution, labour problems and women's rights - all of which threatened to break the calm of the Edwardian era.

The Anglican Church was not unaware of these undercurrents of discontent. Oriental missions had cropped up in several dioceses, with the largest in Victoria and Vancouver. Sunday Schools, night schools, and kindergartens were the means of communicating the Christian faith and Christian principles. Although the church was reluctant to state openly that the "Occidental" was superior to the "Oriental", nevertheless it recognized definite biological, cultural and religious differences, and a general "lowering of the moral tone of the community from the presence of large numbers of persons whose standards of life are lower than our own."[18] The Anglican Church, therefore, saw its mission not only as the conversion of immigrants already in Canada but also as the conversion of Orientals before they reached Canada. As N.L. Ward remarked:

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[16] Fourth Census, Volume I, pp.284-85.

[17] Ormsby, British Columbia, p.350.

> It is quite possible that in the future through the rising tide of colour, the 700,000,000 Asiatics will flood Western Canada. If they come as pagans, it will be death to Western civilization, but if we do our part and christianise Asia and the Orientals now, we can trust God to over-rule any race war that may arise.[19]

The various diocesan synods made frequent reference to other social concerns. In 1902, the New Westminster synod received a report from the committee on temperance, firmly supporting the Anglican Church's principle of "union and co-operation, on perfectly equal terms, between those who use and those who abstain from intoxicating drinks."[20] The committee on Sunday observance reported that: "All unnecessary labour and traffic must be strenuously resisted" on the Sabbath and that Christian opinion should set itself against any attempts to abolish this day of rest.[21] In 1907 the Kootenay synod heard from the committee on the alienation of the working man, an issue "of paramount importance."[22] "The Socialism prevailing in this district," it explained, " is the same as the Communism of Karl Marx, with this important difference, that it is evidently Christian in sentiment and ethics."[23] Hence, the church's task was not to deny accusations that she was bourgeois, but to assure the working man of her desire to be proletarian as well.[24]

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[18] N. Lascelles Ward, assisted by H.A.Hellaby, Oriental Missions in British Columbia (Westminster: S.P.G., 1925), p.13.

[19] Ibid., 17.

[20] "Report of the Committee on Temperance," Journal of the Twenty-first Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (October 15-16, 1902), p.33.

The dioceses were aware of the various social problems, but little direct action resulted from their various investigations. The Anglican church was far more reluctant than its more protestant brethren to jump onto the social gospel bandwagon and promote concerted social action. It favoured, instead, a more conservative and strictly denominational approach, preferring to work alone within the confines of its own communion in hopes that such action would have a broader social impact. Hence, one of the solutions it proposed to meet the province's social ills with was the initiation of an Anglican theological college . There the church could train men to meet the acute shortage of clergy that plagued the bishops of this rapidly growing church. These men would spread the gospel to isolated mines in Caledonia, to the logging stations of the Kootenays, to the Indian villages along the coast. They would man the Oriental missions and minister to seamen in the port cities. Most important, however, they would provide religious education for the young, the first step if one were to counteract the growth of social evil. The training of clergy, then, would meet the church's needs, but in doing so would have an impact on the larger community.

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[21] John Dart, "The Bishop's Address," Journal of the Twenty-Third Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (October 26-27, 1904), pp.27-28.

[22] "Report of Committee on the Alienation of the Workingman," Journal of the Eighth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 12-13, 1907), Appendix F, p.37.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 38.

The idea of founding an Anglican theological college in British Columbia was not new. It has been initially proposed by the Rev. Charles Grenfell Nicolay as early as 1853. Although he had never visited British Columbia, Nicolay had been concerned at the Hudsons Bay Company's lack of concern for the religious instruction of both natives and incoming settlers. To provide such services he envisioned a missionary college consisting of a principal and five "brethren" - one of whom should be a priest, two, medical men, preferably also in deacon's orders, and the remainder laymen.[25] This college would be part of a larger, self-supporting community of tradesmen, wives and children, a centre in which both natives and settlers could find "the means of civilization by bodily and mental culture, and of instruction in the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion."[26] In such an atmosphere, the missionary college would at length become the Colonial University, thus completing "the chain of English learning and social life which will then without metaphor, encircle the globe."[27]

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[25] Charles G. Nicolay, A Proposal to Establish a Missionary College on the North-West Coast of British America, In a Letter to the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. (London: Saunders and Stanford, 1853), p.17.

Nicolay's prophetic words were echoed by Bishop George Hills[28] in a letter dated March 14, 1860. He was seeking "a man of high character and calibre"[29] to take the leadership of a collegiate institution which, he hoped, would "plant...a germ of sound Religious learning, which might hereafter be the great Northern University of these Western regions; and which might send forth missionaries onwards to lighten even China itself."[30] The result had been the establishment of both boys' and girls' schools in Victoria - but nothing else.

[26] Ibid., 16.

[27] Ibid., 28.

[28] Bishop George Hills, of moderate high church leaning, was appointed the first bishop of the newly formed diocese of British Columbia in 1859. He became embroiled in a controversy with his Dean, Edward Cridge, over the institution of high church practices into the British Columbian church. Cridge, an ardent evangelical, refused to accept either an ecclesiastical or civil court decision against him concerning the point of contention, and broke away from the Church of England to form his own Reformed Episcopal Church in 1874.

[29] George Hills, Columbia Mission: Occasional Paper, June, 1860 (London: Rivingtons, 1860), p.14.

[30] Ibid., 14.

By the turn of the century, however, social needs demanded action and education, particularly theological education, had become the trend. In 1908 the city of Vancouver had spent, on schools, $114,000 in addition to a $56,000 provincial grant.[31] Two years before the McGill University College of British Columbia had been established with branches in Victoria and Vancouver. Occupying temporary quarters labelled the "Fairview Shacks", this institution served the province until the new University of British Columbia opened its doors in 1915. Steps had been taken in the foundation of other specifically theological institutions. The Methodists had established Columbian College in 1892 as a liberal arts college, but by 1911 had created a purely theological seminary, Ryerson College. The Presbyterians had taken similar action in 1908 with the foundation of Westminster Hall. Even the Roman Catholics had opened a junior seminary, as early as 1896. Hence, Anglican designs for a theological college were not unusual. However, to the surprise of many within and without the Anglican communion, there existed in Vancouver by 1912 not one but two Anglican theological colleges.

The presence of two such institutions was disturbing though not a new phenomenon within the Anglican church, for they symbolized deep-rooted divisions within the church over 400 years ~~old~~. During the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) the Church of England repudiated her allegiance to Rome, the British sovereign becoming "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England" with powers so great as to include the definition of dogma.[32] The struggle that ensued between the strongly catholic elements and, after the continental reformation, more protestant factions of the church soon penetrated theological institutions. Oxford, one of the two major theological seminaries and universities, remained fundamentally attached to the old faith, whereas Cambridge, the other major school, played a prominent part in fostering reformed Anglicanism. During the Civil War, the universities were soon embroiled in political squabbling. Oxford became the headquarters of Charles I and his Royalist party. Cambridge, however, although adhering to the Royalist cause, reluctantly became the centre of Cromwellian activity. After the restoration both institutions reverted to their Royalist allegiance, but with significant political and religious differences. Oxford settled into "a framework of Tory politics and High Church Anglicanism,"[33] while Cambridge tended to the "less stereotyped,"[34] less Tory and more latitudinarian. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Cambridge became closely associated with the evangelical faction of the church under the guidance of men like Charles Simeon. Oxford, on the other hand, because of its high church tendencies, became the seat of the tractarian movement. From the inception of religious partisanship, therefore, the two main theological seminaries found themselves taking sides, to say nothing of the countless smaller colleges that were founded to meet specific party needs.

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[31] Morley, Vancouver, p.127.

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[32] John R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England (New York: Morehouse - Gorham Co., 1954), p. 179.

[33] V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (London: S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1964), p. 167.

[34] *Ibid.*, 170.

The Anglican church in Canada inherited these theological divisions, again apparent in the teachings of theological seminaries. In Canada the struggle was further enhanced by the strong influence of Irish evangelicalism which was violently opposed to tractarian doctrine and ritual and determined to counteract it in every possible way. The two original Anglican theological colleges in Upper and Lower Canada were Trinity College, Toronto, and Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec, both tractarian in influence from the start. Trinity had begun after King's College, founded in 1826, was secularized as the University of Toronto in 1850. A royal charter, received in 1852, led to the re-establishment, as Trinity, of a purely Anglican college and theological seminary. Bishop's had begun in 1839 with an S.P.G. grant to the Rev. S.S. Wood of Three Rivers for the instruction of a few divinity students. The college was finally incorporated in 1843. Not satisfied with the limited training available, evangelical churchmen soon took action. In 1873 the Montreal Diocesan College was formed in opposition to Bishop's, for the training of evangelical clergy. In the diocese of Huron, Bishop Benjamin Cronyn, a strong Irish evangelical, began Huron College as a rival to Trinity. It was incorporated in 1863. To evangelicals remaining in the Toronto diocese the situation was still unsatisfactory. Consequently in 1877 Wycliffe College was opened to counteract the high church influence of Trinity. In the west, St. John's College, Winnipeg was organized in 1866 under the leadership of Bishop Robert Machray and reflected the freer evangelical spirit of the western church as a whole. In 1907 and 1909 two more theological colleges cropped up in Saskatchewan - St. Chads and Emmanuel - the former tending towards tractarianism, the latter tending towards evangelicalism.

Thus, the Canadian church had perpetuated the inherent divisions of the Anglican communion within its theological seminaries. On one side was the more protestant faction, stressing the Reformation principles and emphasizing the individual's relationship to God and acceptance of Christ as necessary for salvation. In order to accomplish this, a more simplistic type of service was favoured. On the other hand were the high Anglicans, also concerned with salvation, but stressing the importance of membership in and adherence to the corporate church rather than the personal relationship with the Deity as a means of achieving it. They favoured a more ritualistic form of worship. It was not surprising, then, that two Anglican theological colleges should appear in Vancouver - one evangelical, the other high church. Nevertheless the British Columbia church was not content to let old controversies persist. The province, rapidly growing, was acquiring a unique set of social problems that demanded creative remedies. Old solutions became obsolete. Hence, the Anglican church in British Columbia, reflecting the pioneering spirit of the society in general, launched on the difficult road to reform of theological education as a means of meeting society's demands. Within a decade it had accomplished what in 1912 seemed impossible - amalgamation of the two partisan colleges into one functioning theological seminary or what one of the college's guiding spirits termed "unity in diversity."

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the forces at work which created the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, unique within the Anglican church in Canada of its day.

Chapter II

Birth Pangs 1900-1912

Despite the dreams of early clerics specific reference to Anglican theological education in British Columbia did not recur until the early twentieth century. The matter, however, remained one of discussion in broader theological circles. The encyclical letter of the 1897 Lambeth Conference expressed concern that the "facilities provided for theological study in many of the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain are not sufficient, and that there is very little recognition of proficiency in theological knowledge."[1] It therefore urged all christian people, but especially those connected by "commercial or other relations" with the colonies to provide money for the colleges and scholarships in theology.[2] Three years later, in his address to the General Synod of the Anglican church in Canada the Primate, Archbishop Robert Machray, also emphasized the importance of theological education, particularly in training native clergy.

> Means will be of little avail if the men are wanting, and experience has shown that we can only have the men by ourselves encouraging and educating promising candidates for the Ministry. Besides, I think there can be no question that the clergy who are trained

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[1] "Encyclical Letter," Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace (July, 1897), p.23.

[2] Ibid.

> amid the conditions of their future work, are most likely to prove effective and acceptable.[3]

Tabulations made by a committee investigating Anglican theological education in Canada reported to General Synod in 1905 of seven theological colleges from Nova Scotia to Manitoba training two hundred and ninety-six students supported primarily by revenue from endowments.[4] A fact that struck those from beyond the Rockies was the lack of any theological training for clergy in the province of British Columbia. The time was ripe. The Anglican church, short of clergy, faced a society of ever increasing complexity. No longer a mere pioneer community, the province was facing severe social problems that threatened to disturb its climb to prosperity. Labour unrest, immigration crises and the rise of the suffragette movement coupled with a host of other concerns such as the growth of prostitution, alcoholism and drug abuse confronted the church. Action was necessary. Nevertheless, churchmen in British Columbia had not been idle.

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[3] Robert Machay, "Address to the General Synod of the Church of England," The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada: Journal of Proceedings of the Third Session (September 3-12, 1902), p.9.

[4] David Williams, "Report on Maintenance of Theological Colleges," The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada: Journal of Proceedings of the Fourth Session (September 6-15, 1905), Appendix XXXV, pp.184-85.

Initial Plans

It was in 1899 that Bishop John Dart[5] first made reference to the necessity of a theological college, perhaps as a component part of a "true Cathedral system", such as existed in England, including also a cathedral and grammar school.[6] The primary reason for such a suggestion was the acute shortage of Anglican clergy. "It would help us greatly," he later explained to the Kootenay synod, "if we had a theological college in British Columbia instead of being entirely dependent upon the supply of men from a distance."[7] After all, St. John's in Winnipeg, nearly 1500 miles away, was the nearest institution of a university character for the training of clergy. If a local institution could be erected, the church could then "send into our rising towns, pioneer priests and deacons, or at least theological students,"[8] already familiar with local conditions and problems, to minister to the community's spiritual and social needs. Thus, he urged his people to hold the ideal of such an establishment ever before their minds and work gradually toward it, "although we know it can only be fully realized in after generations."[9] Little did Bishop Dart know that before his death in 1910 he would witness the birth of not only on[illegible]t two theological colleges in British Columbia.

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[5] John Dart (1837-1910) was born in England, received his B.A. and M.A. from Oxford, and was ordained deacon in 1859 and priest in 1860. Acting for a time as teacher and vice-principal at St. Peter's College, Peterborough, England, Dart was sent to Ceylon where from 1859 to 1865 he acted as warden of St. Thomas' College, Colombo. From 1876 to 1885 he was President of King's College, Nova Scotia, followed by ten years labour as Organizing Secretary for the S.P.G. in the diocese of Manchester. In 1895 he was consecrated Bishop of New Westminster, a position he held until his death in 1910.

[6] John Dart, "Address to the Synod of New Westminster, November 8, 1899," *Journal of the Eighteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster* (1899), p.7.

[7] John Dart, "Bishop's Charge," *Journal of the Sixth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay* (June 7-8, 1905), p. 13.

[8] *Ibid.*

Others caught hold of this dream. The Archdeacon of Columbia, Edwyn S.W. Pentreath,[10] spoke in 1902 of a Pacific Coast College. It was a plan of modest proportions - to procure a house, with a resident principal, who would deliver lectures along with selected clergy of Vancouver and New Westminster - that would serve the various dioceses of the province.[11] The real impetus, however, came in 1905. Mrs. Tritton Gurney, of Surrey, England, donated £200 and a portion of her late husband's library towards the building and equipping of a theological college. A gift of £80 towards the furnishing of a chapel named in memory of her husband followed. By 1906 Bishop Dart was able to report that a fund-raising trip to England had been most successful. The New England Company, a missionary organization in England, had contributed £300 for building purposes and the S.P.C.K. £50. 1907 brought the announcement from the Rev. Rhodes Bristow, head of the New Westminster and Kootenay Missionary Association, of £800 for the building of the college.

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[9] John Dart, "Address to the Synod of New Westminster, November 8, 1899," Journal of the Eighteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (1899), p.7.

[10] Edwyn S.W. Pentreath was born in New Brunswick in 1846, and educated in England and at General Theological Seminary, New York. After serving for a time at St. George's, Moncton, N.B., he was sent to Winnipeg in 1882, and appointed Archdeacon of Columbia in 1897.

[11] Edwyn S. W. Pentreath, "Diocese of New Westminster," Work for the Far West, XXII (October, 1902), p.15.

Definite plans began to take shape. The proposed site was Vancouver, one-half block of land having been secured near the temporary site of McGill University College of British Columbia at the cost of £350.[12] A proposal had been drawn up for one wing of the college to include classrooms, the warden's residence, accommodation for twelve students and a temporary chapel and library. Construction, however, was not to begin until the provincial government had definitely settled the site of the provincial university, for although the new college's proposals of affiliation had been accepted by McGill, there was hope that agitation for a provincial university might bring better fruit. Money was still needed to finance the position of Warden, the holder of which, the magazine Work for the Far West stated, would occupy "one of the most commanding and influential positions in the whole of the Colonial Church, and so we ought to give of our very best to the task."[13]

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[12] "St. Mark's Theological College," Ibid., XXXVIII (October, 1906), 19.

[13] "The Theological College," Ibid., XL (April, 1907), 23-24.

Preoccupation with university affiliation reflected the overall desire for an educated clergy. As Bishop Dart remarked, "We need not labor to show that clergy should be men of good general education besides being thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and discipline of the church and able and willing to inculcate her principles. We want something more than facility of speech and a vague nebulous theology."[14] The students would have the advantage of the university's Arts course and, except under unusual circumstances, all would be compelled to take it to ensure a "liberal education."[15]

A constitution was drawn up by the Archdeacon of Columbia, Rev. R.S. Marsden, and Rev. G.H. Wilson and adopted at a meeting of representative clergy in Vancouver. The proposition called for a "provincial" rather than "diocesan" institution that would exhibit equal representation from each of the four British Columbia dioceses and reflect in its comprehensiveness the different schools of thought in the Anglican church. The new institution was to be named St. Mark's, chosen by Mrs. Tritton Gurney in remembrance of St. Mark, the evangelist and scholar and supposed founder of the great school at Alexandria.

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[14] John Dart, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Seventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 6-7, 1906), p.18.

[15] W.W. Perrin, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Eleventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia (November 16, 1908), p.7. Perrin (1848-1934) was born in Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucestershire, England. Educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Oxford, he was ordained deacon in 1871 and priest in 1872. From 1871 to 1893 he served several parishes in Southhampton, England, being named Bishop of the Diocese of British Columbia in 1893. In 1911, he was called to be Suffragan Bishop of Willesden, England, where he also served as rector of the Church of St. Andrew, Undershaft, London. From 1929 until his death in 1934, he served as the Assistant Bishop of London.

Although by 1908 plans seemed mature, there was still the "mighty task" of raising the £25,000 needed for the building and endowment of a completed St. Mark's.[16] In 1909, however, the October issue of Work for the Far West was able to announce a gift of money, "almost too good to be true, for it is one of the very biggest pieces of encouragement that has ever befallen the church in the Far West for many years past."[17] This generous endowment had been donated by the New Westminster Association in England, who decided to make the proposed St. Mark's College the Jubilee memorial of the foundation of the original British Columbia diocese in 1859. Heartily endorsed by the British Columbia bishops and synods, a most influential committee was formed in England. As the Archdeacon of Columbia proudly enumerated, it consisted of fifty-one patrons "including the Princess Louise, thirty-one English Bishops, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Marquises of Salisbury, Normanby and Lansdowne, Baroness MacDonald, Lord Strathcona, Viscount Milner and others." The committee, headed by the Bishop of Norwich, once a missionary in New Westminster, comprised one hundred and twenty-two, representing all schools of thought, including many prominent evangelicals and a substantial number of influential laymen.[18]

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[16] "The Jubilee of the Church in British Columbia," Work for the Far West, XLV (July, 1908), p.14.

[17] "Voices from England", Ibid., L (October, 1909), 17.

[18] Edwyn S.W. Pentreath, "A Statement from the Archdeacon of Columbia of the steps taken to found the proposed St. Mark's Theological College for the Province of B.C." (Vancouver, B.C.: August, 1909).

The final amount awarded to St. Mark's from the Pan-Anglican Congress Thank-Offering was £5000.

Because of the successful propaganda by the committee and the Bishop of Columbia, who toured England during the Pan-Anglican Congress, comment in England was favourable. On January 31, 1910, members of the newly formed British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society (B.C. & Y.C.A.S.) passed a resolution giving full support to the establishment of St. Mark's. There had been initial misgivings about a college being founded "so far away from the centres of theological learning as British Columbia."[19] Nevertheless, members were assured that "the influence of the Mother Country in Theology, as in every other department of life is still paramount in her Dominion."[20] Others felt that the college presented the perfect opportunity for bringing education and culture to its very highest forms, for universities in Canada remained unhampered by the strict clerical control that existed in England. Religious education could be like yeast and "by placing the Theological College in the University that college will be, we trust, the leavening of religion over the whole University."[21]

Thus with growing financial support, promised affiliation with the new University of British Columbia which was formed in 1908,[22] and enthusiasm from both within and without the province of British Columbia, Archdeacon Pentreath was able to issue a statement with much pride that the new college of St. Mark's would be as

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[19] Rev. Canon Beanlands, former rector of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria, quoted in "Concluding Meeting at the Manison House, January 31, 1910," British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society Yearbook (1911), p.88.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Mrs. Creighton quoted in Ibid., 96.

> broad and comprehensive as the church itself. The West demands able and broad minded men. It is intended to select a wise Principal, to have a thoroughly representative Board of Governors, and to make the college worthy of the great Province in which it is situated. With such objects the foundations of St. Mark's Provincial College should commend itself to every loyal member of the church in British Columbia, who desires to see in the Ministry men of breadth of vision and intellectual ability, loyal to their Church, and able to deal effectively with the great problems confronting the church in this country.[23]

It was hoped that classes would begin in temporary quarters in the fall of 1909.

These rosy dreams were soon shattered. St. Mark's did not come into existence in 1909. Instead, as Bishop Dart worriedly announced in his charge to the Kootenay Synod in 1909, a recent meeting had been held in Vancouver "to consider ways and means for building there an evangelical college, ostensibly for the purpose of training ministers for the Church of England."[24] Bishop Dart was vehement in his opposition.

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[22] In 1908, it was yet undecided as to whether the new University of British Columbia would be located in Victoria or Vancouver.

[23] Pentreath, op. cit.

[24] John Dart, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Nineth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 9-10, 1909), pp.14-15.

> This movement I utterly condemn, and my brother bishop of Columbia entirely agrees with me...If it were carried into effect, the ultimate gain I believe, would be, not the evangelical party in the Church of England, or even the so-called reformed episcopalians, but the Church of Rome, which has astute men working for it, and is ever ready to take advantage of any signs of weakness in our church, which has been the strongest opponent of Roman usurpations and the greatest obstacle to the spread of novel Roman dogmas. [25]

Hence began the intra-church rivalry that was to produce two Anglican theological schools in British Columbia and to keep them separated for ten years.

Bishop Latimer College

By 1908 a group of evangelical Anglicans in Vancouver, both lay and clergy, had become rather disturbed at the situation that prevailed in what had been labelled far western Canada - the civil province of Alberta and all the territory lying west of the Rocky Mountains. Of the six dioceses into which this territory was divided, only two, Caledonia and Yukon, were definitely evangelical. All the others, New Westminster, Columbia, Kootenay and Calgary, were to a large extent under high church influence. Consequently most financial assistance came from S.P.G. sources, including a substantial grant to the proposed St. Mark's College. It appeared, therefore, that St. Mark's, rather than being comprehensive in

[25] _Ibid_.

nature, would be heavily high church in tone. Feeling the need for evangelical training of clergy that would be more conveniently situated than Wycliffe College, almost three thousand miles away, the Revs. C.C. Owen[26] and A.H. Sovereign,[27] priests at Christ Church Cathedral in Vancouver, had been conducting informal classes to give preliminary training to potential theological candidates. Not fully satisfied with these measures, the two clergymen called a meeting of interested evangelicals on December 29, 1908 at the home of H.T. Cambie, a pillar of the congregation of Christ Church. Present were Mr. Cambie, G.H. Cowan, a member of Christ Church and also a member of Parliament in Ottawa, W.T. Clark of Christ Church, Rev. A.E.O'Meara,[28] a deacon under the auspices of Bishop Stringer of the Yukon diocese, then working with British Columbia Indians, Rev. C.C. Owen and Rev. A.H. Sovereign.

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[26] C.C.Owen was a Canadian by birth, educated at the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College, Toronto. In 1885 he had joined the medical unit which served in the Northwest Rebellion. Ordained deacon in 1885 and priest in 1889, he served as curate of St. Peter's Church, Toronto until 1893, at which time he moved to Winnipeg and later, in 1899, to London, Ontario. In 1903 he became rector of Christ Church in Vancouver. With the coming war, Owen resigned his rectorship and went overseas as padre. Upon his return he became chaplain of the Vancouver General Hospital. Of his influence upon young men, James Lawler has written

> Wherever Mr. Owen has been stationed, young men of brains and earnestness, pondering upon their life work, have gathered about him, and the observation of his consecration and his manly, fearless words and actions has been the deciding factor in causing them to enter the ministry of the Church of England.

Quotation in James Lawler, "Scenes on the Life of Rev. C.C. Owen," Canadian Churchman, LXVIII (April 3, 1941), pp.213-14.

[27] A.H. Sovereign was born in Woodstock, Ontario of Loyalist descent, in 1881. Attending the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College, he was ordained deacon in 1906 and priest in 1907. His first assignment was the curacy of Christ Church, Vancouver, under the Rev. C.C. Owen. In 1909 he became first rector of St. Mark's Parish, Kitsilano, Vancouver. Between 1909 and 1920 he was also Lecturer at Latimer Hall and the Anglican Theological College. In 1932 he was appointed Bishop of Yukon.

Owen introduced the topic of concern by listing reasons for the instituting of an evangelical theological college: the need for clergymen in an expanding province, changing social conditions, nearness of the Orient, the initiative of the Presbyterians and Methodists in theological education and finally the promised support of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C&C.C.S.) in England and of Wycliffe in Toronto. Convinced of the validity of the proposal the group resolved that "a larger and more representative gathering be called to meet" in the new year, and that in preparation for this, a committee consisting of Messrs. Cambie, O'Meara and Sovereign be appointed to draw up resolutions for presentation.[29]

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[28] A.E. O'Meara was born in 1859 at Port Hope, Ontario, the son of an Anglican clergyman. He completed his Arts at the University of Toronto in 1882 and was called to the bar in 1885. Although he maintained a continued interest in church and missionary work, he was not ordained deacon until 1906, when he was sent to the Yukon under Bishop Stringer. His primary interest was in Indian missions, although he took an active role in the initiation of Bishop Latimer College. He retired to Victoria in 1910.

The gathering took place on February 11, 1909, again at Mr. Cambie's residence, with five clergymen and five laymen present - Revs. A.A. Collison, G.H. Wilson, Owen, O'Meara and Sovereign and Messrs. Cambie, J.Z. Hall, E. Cooke, W.T. Clark and Wm. Skene. The first resolution introduced again explained the reasons for the establishment of an evangelical school, similar to those suggested by Owen, but spelled out in greater detail. The first spoke of the "special conditions and needs of Far Western Canada" which rendered necessary the establishment of an evangelical college for "prosecuting the spiritual work" of the Anglican church in that part of Canada.[30] Evangelical churchmen were also aware of the province's increasingly difficult social problems. Closely allied with this awareness was concern over the rapid development of the far west's resources of minerals, fish, fruit and timber, and the increase of railways and shipping that accompanied it. Above all, the ever rising population was making demands that must be met.

Increased commerce and immigration had also brought the Pacific coast of Canada into close contact with the Orient. Thus the coast had become a most strategic point for evangelization especially of China - another valid reason for the establishment of a college. As Canon N. Tucker, General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church, remarked: China "represents one-quarter of the whole human race, one-half of the whole heathen world. From the proudest and most exclusive nations on earth it has been suddenly transformed into the most receptive and teachable." With its 400,000,000 people "imploring" Christendom to guide them in their trek towards industrialization and adoption of European civilization, the Anglican communion could not afford to resist this opportunity.[31]

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[29] Minutes of the preliminary conference concerning the founding of Bishop Latimer College, held on December 29, 1908, "Minute Book; Bishop Latimer College," p.3.

[30] Proposal for a Pacific College, February 11, 1909, Ibid., 11.

The beckoning of overseas evangelization and an evermore complex society at home demanded more clergy. Evangelicals felt assured that candidates for the ministry could be gleaned from within the six dioceses and that by providing an institution near at hand, rather than sending men to one of the seven other Anglican theological colleges in Canada, such a commitment might be encouraged. The vast territory of the West would also provide ample opportunity for summer ministry for students training at a college.[32]

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[31] N. Tucker, "Sermon preached in St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, St. Andrew's Day, November 30, 1909, at the Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Wm. White, D.D., Bishop in Honan, China," Across the Rockies, I (November, 1910), pp.101-2.

[32] Proposal for a Pacific Coast College, February 11, 1909, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," pp.11-13.

The final consensus was that the church in the far west was in a formative stage. Conditions and opportunities made the time ripe for an evangelical drive within British Columbia. In the month of June a conference of all Pacific Coast Dioceses (of United States and Canada) was to meet to discuss the formation of an ecclesiastical province of British Columbia, theological training and other important matters. The group felt that immediate steps should be taken to complete the organization of the proposed evangelical college, to be known as "Bishop Latimer College," before this conference, in order that it would sanction their endeavours. This resolution passed, the committee proceeded to the discussion of the principles upon which this new college should be based.

It was agreed that these should be those held in common by the Church Missionary Society (CM.S), the C.& C.C.S. and Wycliffe College, Toronto - all definitely evangelical and all reflecting a strong protestant bias. The first claimed "the Supreme Authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and life", together with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a contradiction of the emphasis put on tradition by high church Anglicans. The next stressed the role of Christ as the one Mediator between God and man, through whose death one was reconciled to the Father through faith, clearly a Reformation principle. The third, fourth and sixth principles stressed the concept of the universal priesthood of all believers within the body of the Holy Catholic Church. This recognized the episcopate as the "most scriptural" form of church government and highly conducive to the well being of the church but denied that it was essential to the being of the church, a high church doctrine. The fifth professed the belief that the ministry of the church was not

> an order of persons offering to God sacrifices other than those offered by all Christians... but consists of men called by God the Holy Ghost and set apart by lawful authority for preaching the Gospel of Christ, for administering the sacraments instituted by Him, and for teaching and leading the committed to them in Christian doctrine, life and service.[33]

Because evangelicals viewed the Eucharist as a memorial rather than a sacrifice, which to them was reminiscent of the Roman Catholic Mass, their concept of the priesthood was not that of men set apart for the "sacrificing priesthood", but rather of men whose ordained ministry was one of many different forms of Christian service, albeit with certain privileges. The seventh, eighth and nineth principles followed the fifth in denying "any form of the doctrine of praesentia rei, the presence of Christ's body and blood upon the Holy Table in with or under the form of the bread and wine after their consecration". This repudiation of the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist coupled with the belief in a subjective view of the sacraments as signs and seals through which spiritual strength was bestowed, dependent,of course, on the faith of the recipient, clearly revealed the theological stand of the committee. The final principle stressed that worship should be "simple, spiritual and congregational" rather than traditional and ritualistic. Such explicit adherence to protestant reformation principles left no doubt as to the basis upon which the evangelical churchmen wished their college to be founded.[34]

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[33] Condensed Statement Regarding Pacific Coast College, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (in the Anglican Theological College files, hereafter referred to as A.T.C. files),p.2.

The character and scope of its work followed logically from the principles of faith. Bishop Latimer College was to be "guided by missionary motives and ideals," training candidates for the ordained ministry, but also male and female lay workers and volunteers. Thus the college would be an organized centre for study of the Bible and for promoting missionary outreach within British Columbia among the natives, Orientals and white settlers, and overseas - the inspiration behind a "definite forward spiritual movement."[35]

In this capacity, Bishop Latimer College would look to the C.M.S. and C. & C.C.S. for moral support, co-operation and financial assistance. Close contact would also be kept with Wycliffe College although the college in subsequent years hoped to secure most financial assistance from the Pacific Coast and England, to avoid the necessity of further appeal to Eastern Canada. Nevertheless, the college administrators would endeavour "to work in the utmost possible harmony with all other members of the church," carrying on theological training in accordance with its own views, but recognizing the liberty of other parties within the church. It was clearly stated that "the plans for an evangelical college are not formed in any spirit of antagonism to the college to be known as St. Mark's."[36] Instead, Bishop Latimer College would be willing to consider any proposals from St. Mark's for teaching in common subjects consistent with the college's convictions. Furthermore, Bishop Latimer College would conform to the Anglican regulations in the conferring of Divinity Degrees and seek affiliation with the University of British Columbia.[37]

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[34] Proposal for a Pacific Coast College, February 11, 1909, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," pp.15 and 17.

[35] Ibid., 17 and 19.

Plans called for the appointment of a full time principal, a professor who would devote half time to college and the remainder to parochial work, and volunteer lectures from local clergy in their areas of specialty. The annual budget for all this plus the upkeep of a building was to be $7500.00, the initial contributions to come from the Pacific Coast, Eastern Canada and England in equal amounts. The same meeting advised a forward compaign to gain financial assistance from the three areas, and that organization take place as soon as possible in order that plans be completed by the time the June conference of Pacific Coast Dioceses occurred. Consequently, Sovereign was appointed campaign organizer in British Columbia and O'Meara set out for the East and England as official ambassador for Bishop Latimer College.

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[36] Ibid., 19.

[37] Ibid., 19 and 20.

On March 6th, 1909 O'Meara aided by G.H. Cowan met with a group of interested supporters in Toronto among whom were the Rev. T.R. O'Meara, principal of Wycliffe College, Rev. N. Tucker, General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church, Dr. Cody of St. Paul's, Toronto, Mr. Thomas Mortimer, Dr. Hoyles, president of Wycliffe College, and W.H. Vance, rector of the Church of the Ascension in Toronto. The response to the proposals was encouraging. The eastern representatives approved of the plan with one modification, that "until a larger body of western members of our church more especially laymen shall be actively interested in the undertaking, such institution while independent in respect of management and of financial responsibility, should carry on the work of training candidates for the ministry in affiliation with Wycliffe College according to a plan of co-operation to be agreed upon."[38] They also recommended that the annual cost of running the college should be kept below the $7500.00 per annum proposed. Nevertheless, financial promoters were appointed for Winnipeg, the Maritimes and Toronto.

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[38] Pacific Coast College: Opinion of Eastern Conference, enclosed in a letter from A.E. O'Meara to the Rev. A.H. Sovereign, March 16, 1909, Folder of clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

In England enthusiasm for the evangelical project ran high. As O'Meara joyfully announced in a letter to Owen

> The entirely uninterrupted success which has followed the efforts which I have been enabled to make on behalf of the college while in England has greatly deepened and strengthened my conviction that this plan is indeed part of God's Great Plan and my confidence that large and difficult as the undertaking is we shall by God's blessing succeed in carrying it through. [39]

An item of interest, O'Meara noted was that the former appeals made for assistance to St. Mark's had helped greatly in arousing interest in the far west and stimulating evangelicals to action. Thus, when the proposal for Latimer College was made, it was received with eagerness. To illustrate he pointed to the open support of Dr. Eugene Stock, a staunch evangelical and noted historian of the Church Missionary Society, who initially had been persuaded to move one of the resolutions in favour of St. Mark's. Upon O'Meara's arrival, however, he spoke out strongly in favour of Bishop Latimer College. Similarly, the Dean of Canterbury had switched his allegiance, heartily endorsing the evangelical plan, describing it as "sound, comprehensive and moderate, and at the same time particularly well adapted to the needs of the present day."[40]

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[39] Letter from A.E. O'Meara to C.C. Owen, April 20,1909, p.4, Ibid.

The C.M.S. also passed a strong resolution commending the effort, wishing it God-speed and promising to send men to train in its halls. The National Church League, a growing evangelical organization, promised aid when plans had further matured. The editor of the Record, an evangelical newspaper, assured O'Meara of his active assistance in spreading word of the proposals throughout England. The greatest promise of assistance came from the C.& C.C.S., who resolved to pay £200 a year toward the salary of a principal for the new college, provided the original plan was followed without the modification suggested by the eastern conference. To this O'Meara agreed, and upon his return to Toronto persuaded the committee there that the strength of English support, far greater than anticipated, "more than outweighs what was thought by some to be the weakness of the position in the West and renders quite possible the carrying out of the original plan in the early future."[41]

The next step in organization was a public meeting held in the basement of Christ Church, on May 26, 1909. By now a large body of influential laymen from the province had also rallied to the college's support, many of these from the Christ Church congregation. The prestige of many of these laymen brought added appeal to the evangelical project. Of the college's initial supporters, G.H. Cowan was a well-known Vancouver lawyer and Conservative politician. He had, in fact, compiled the information that Premier McBride had taken to Ottawa in the support of the province's plea for "better terms"[42] in 1906. H.J. Cambie was not only one of the original members of Christ Church but was also one of the Canadian Pacific's chief consulting engineers. He had been responsible for the construction of some of the most difficult portions of the railway line west of the Rockies. In addition to his technical capabilities, he was also a highly respected citizen of Vancouver.[43] James Z. Hall was a prominent businessman, interested in the handling of mining and timber properties and dabbling in insurance and real estate.[44]

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[40] Letter from the Dean of Canterbury, H. Wace, to A.E. O'Meara, April 23, 1909, enclosed in a letter from O'Meara to C.C. Owen, April 29, 1909, Ibid.

[41] Letter from A.E. O'Meara to C.C. Owen, April 29, 1909, Ibid.

At the public meeting other respected citizens were present, eager to play an active role in the college's organization. Many of these were appointed to the council which was given power to proceed with the organization by appointing a principal and staff and by administering affairs until the next annual meeting in May 1910, when a permanent constitution would be presented for consideration. J.C. Keith was a prominent Victoria architect who had designed the new Anglican cathedral in that city.[45] J.R. Seymour was a businessman, active in commercial and real estate circles, a strong leader within the provincial Conservative party, and one of Vancouver's leading citizens.[46] Walter Hepburn was a local contractor and builder, a man of strong character and ambition. He was a member of the Liberal party and alderman for Vancouver for five years.[47] J.A. Sutherland was a well-loved medical doctor in Vancouver and a strong Conservative in politics.[48] In addition were men like A.R. Low, who served as the college's bursar until 1924, and Dr. O. Weld, who became the college physician.

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[42] The material was published in pamphlet form. See G.H. Cowan, British Columbia's Claim Upon the Dominion Government for Better Terms (Vancouver: Independent Printing Co., 1904).

[43] "H.J. Cambie," British Columbia From the Earliest Time to the Present: Biographical, III (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), pp.973-74.

[44] "James Z. Hall," Ibid., 88-91.

These laymen were also generous in their financial assistance to the college. In 1911, the subscription list was proof of their concern. Keith had donated $300, Cambie, Hepburn, Seymour, Hall, Weld, Cowan, Sutherland, $100 each and Low, $50. In addition the Christ Church congregation had contributed $200.[49] Not all college supporters were laymen. Many of their wives banded together to form a

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[45] "J.C. Keith," Ibid., 566-69.

[46] "J.R. Seymour," Ibid., 856-860.

[47] "Walter Hepburn," Ibid., 936-39.

[48] "J.A. Sutherland," Ibid., 1076.

[49] Subscription List, 1911, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.173.

Woman's Aid, to assist in furnishing and provisioning the new institution. The society's first president was Mrs. J.R. Seymour and the first secretary, Mrs. G.H. Cowan.

Such strong lay support gave great impetus to the evangelical project. Assistance and approval from societies and individuals in Britain and Eastern Canada was necessary if the college was to receive national recognition and at least a minimal financial backing. Nevertheless, until local interest had been aroused advancement beyond the planning stages was impossible. Only in an atmosphere of acceptance and support could Bishop Latimer College survive. Without it, consistent high church opposition would soon break even the strongest evangelical's determination and sporadic financial assistance from English societies would soon prove inadequate. Thus, with the formation of a council with power to act, the organization of the college proceeded without hesitation.

At the June 14 meeting of the council, the organizing committee presented its resolutions concerning the purchasing of a house to accommodate students at the rate of $25 a month, the length of sessions, the curriculum which was to closely resemble that of Wycliffe, and of greatest importance, the appointment of the principal and one other staff member. For this latter purpose a committee composed of Principal T.R. O'Meara, Dr. Hoyles, Dr. Cody and Mr. Owen was to meet in Toronto on June 25 and wire the decision to Vancouver. Consequently, on June 29, A.H. Sovereign received a telegram which read: "Vance unanimous choice. You teach Dogmatics. Wire offer. C.C. Owen." At the council meeting on July 16, 1909, the secretary was authorized to communicate with the Rev. W.H. Vance offering him the principalship of Bishop Latimer College.

W.H. Vance was a graduate of the University of Toronto and of Wycliffe College. Ordained priest in 1905, he was assistant at St. Thomas' Church in St. Catherines, Ontario, until he became rector of the Church of the Ascension, Toronto, in 1905. Despite Vance's evangelical qualifications the council was not yet prepared to agree unanimously to his appointment. Instead, they recommended at the July 23 meeting that since it was of "supreme importance that the strongest man available in Canada or elsewhere be secured for the office of Principal,"[50] the organization committee be instructed to invite further nominations from evangelical bishops in British Columbia, the staff of Wycliffe, the C.M.S. and any other society or person interested in the establishment of the college. These nominations would then be submitted to the C & C.C.S. for additions and comment.[51] Meanwhile, it was resolved that Vance be offered the "position of Lecturer and Organizing Secretary." Vance was dissatisfied

[50] Minutes of Bishop Latimer College Council, July 23, 1909, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.65.

[51] *Ibid*.

with such an offer, however, indicating that he would accept only the position of principal unanimously offered.[52] After receiving no further nominations, the council finally moved, on November 5, 1909, that Vance be offered the position at a salary of $2,400 a year. Remaining non-committal, Vance journeyed to Vancouver, where he was reassured by the council that "in the event of his acceptance of the position, we will give to him our most loyal support and sympathy."[53] Upon his return to Toronto, Vance accepted.

By March, 1910, only fifteen months after the initial meeting, Bishop Latimer College had become a reality. Enthusiastic support from members of Christ Church and other local laymen, the evangelical bishops in the far west , the supporters and staff of Wycliffe College, and various evangelical missionary societies in Britain had facilitated rapid organization beyond even the most ardent evangelical's wildest dreams. The principles upon which the college was founded were protestant; its aim was that of missionary outreach at home and abroad. Its principal was a man of stalwart evangelical ideals. Nevertheless, progress was not unimpeded.

Contention between high and low church parties over the founding of Bishop Latimer College was inevitable.

[52] Minutes of Bishop Latimer College Council, August 2 and August 10, 1909, Ibid., 69 and 71.

[53] Minutes of Bishop Latimer College Council, February 24, 1910, Ibid., 81.

The dioceses of New Westminster and Columbia were predominantly high church giving little recognition to evangelicalism. A.H. Sovereign described the situation to J.D. Mullins, secretary of the C.& C.C.S. In one instance, the people of Central Park, a suburb of Vancouver, had chosen an evangelical man as their rector, offering even to forego their diocesan grant and to pay his full stipend. The Bishop of New Westminster refused to appoint the man, however, substituting another of his choice, appropriately of high church leanings.[54] In another case, the curate of St. James Church, Vancouver, had actually congratulated his congregation on the fact that they had "gone the farthest in Catholic Ritual of any church in the land."[55] In such an atmosphere the reactions of the Bishops of New Westminster and Columbia were not surprising, for both were alarmed at the evangelical's blatant disregard for their plans concerning theological education in British Columbia.

The most outspoken was Bishop Dart of New Westminster. O'Meara and Owen had planned to notify Bishop Dart personally of their intentions in organizing Bishop Latimer College in May, 1909. Finding him away they broke the news through the press, a slight which Bishop Dart greatly resented. In two letters to Owen, printed for private circulation,[56] Bishop Dart soundly condemned the evangelical project. He was appalled that the evangelicals would think of opening another institution when he, the Bishop and Archdeacon of Columbia, with the support of a prestigious English committee, had already planned another theological college, far more representative in nature. Referring to a recent letter from Owen, he remarked:

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[54] Letter from A.H. Sovereign to J.D. Mullins, October 7, 1909, Folder of clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[55] Letter from A.H. Sovereign to W.H. Vance, December 14, 1909, Ibid.

> You imply that such an institution would probably be "colourless." If by that term you mean that it would not be of a party character, you are right. It would be conducted on Church of England principles, i.e., in accordance with the Prayer Book, and would afford room for all legitimate schools of thought within the Church.

The proposed Bishop Latimer College, on the other hand, appeared not unlike "the Roman Seminary, where only one side of a subject is allowed to be considered." Another point of contention was the obvious support of the C.M.S. and C.& C.C.S. in complete disregard of Bishop Dart's authority. "I cannot believe that either Society would approve of your action in utterly ignoring the position of a Bishop with reference to the training of clergy in his own Diocese." Furthermore, to envision two theological colleges in the same city, one of them avowedly initiated as a rival to the other, was "a scandal." His final comment left no room for argument: "Of course, I could not recognize in any way your proposed rival Theological College in my Diocese."[57] Bishop Dart remained adamant in his condemnation until his death in 1910.

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[56] John Dart,"Two Letters from the Bishop of New Westminster to the Rev. C.C. Owen Relating to a Proposed Partisan College," C.C. Owen Biographical Files (A.T.C. files). There is uncertainty over the date of the first letter, July 19, 1909, for Dart makes reference to it at the Kootenay diocesan synod which met in early June. However in this letter he makes reference to the Kootenay synod having met, suggesting that the letters printed for private circulation and dated July 19 and 22, 1909 were slightly different from the originals sent earlier to the Rev. C.C. Owen.

Bishop Perrin of Columbia was equally hostile, announcing to his synod that

> I feel it my bounden duty to enter a solemn protest against the action of three clergymen and an influential body of laymen in Vancouver, in having started Latimer College. An entirely self-constituted body without any consultation with the Bishop or Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, has appointed a principal and actually commenced work. In spite of the protest of the late Bishop Dart, they have taken upon themselves this responsibility, with the full knowledge of the fact that the formation of a Provincial Theological College was only waiting until the site of the university had been definitely settled.[58]

Furthermore, this provincial theological college would have been free of any party spirit, its teachings soundly based upon the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles.

Both Bishops Perrin and Dart had been primarily concerned at the apparent disrespect of their episcopal authority. National comment focussed upon the sectarianism within the church that the founding of Bishop Latimer

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[57] Ibid., Letter No. I, July 19, 1909.

[58] W.W. Perrin, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Eleventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia (October 17, 1910), pp.3-4.

College indicated. David Williams, Bishop of Huron, expressing his sympathy for Bishop Dart's predicament, feared that it "could be simply a calamity to the church and sectarianism" if such a scheme were allowed. "Is it not possible at this time," he queried, "to lay down a constitution so broad and popularly representative as to cut the ground from from under any sectarian movement?"[59] The Canadian Churchman, the national Anglican newspaper, described the move as " a regretable event, which will inevitably lead to friction and discord."[60] In a realistic manner it continued, explaining that this "Wycliffe of the West" was the inevitable result of divergent theological views within the Anglican church. "What a satire on our overtures for union with other bodies ! Moreover, we do not find that the teaching in Presbyterian and Methodist colleges is satisfactory to the divergent views of all adherents of these bodies, but they do not senselessly waste money in rival colleges."[61] Criticism of the Bishop of Yukon's right to support such a partisan cause, especially in an area outside his jurisdiction, also appeared. The writer concluded by pleading with the evangelicals to consider an alternative:

[59] Letter from David Williams, Bishop of Huron, to John Dart, August 25, 1909, John Dart Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[60] "Home and Foreign Church News," Canadian Churchman, XXXVI (June 17, 1909), p. 385.

[61] Ibid.

> Our Church is tolerant of diverse views on many subjects. It insists upon our acceptance of certain facts but does not always attempt to define just how we are able to interpret those facts. Is it not possible to have a college that will be as broad at least as the Church for which it stands? [62]

Of greatest importance was not the character of churchmanship taught, but the "honesty and highmindedness" of those who taught, regardless of theological conviction.[63] Students could then make their own decisions as to what they should believe.

The hostility of the two British Columbia bishops and factions in the national church had repercussions in England. On October 5, 1909, Mullins informed Owen that the C.& C.C.S. "being a Church Society is obliged to act in harmony with the bishops and, indeed, it has a rule that all appeals for grants for pastoral work must either proceed from or be endorsed by the bishops of the diocese in which they are to operate."[64] Support of a college was on a slightly different footing, but would also require episcopal sanction. Originally the C.& C.C.S. had understood Bishop DuVernet to be a strong adherent of Bishop Latimer College. His support, coupled with that of Bishop Stringer of the Yukon, had seemed adequate justification for granting assistance. The society had, however, since heard that Bishop DuVernet had not openly sanctioned the college and with Bishop Stringer's move under attack, it felt obliged to suspend payment of the grant for the principal's salary "until Bishop Latimer College has been brought into some definite relationship with the Bishops."[65] Mullins suggested two alternatives - to turn the college into "a Hostel connected with St. Mark's College, with a Warden or Principal who would be able to look after the maintenance of the students on true Evangelical principles" or to throw their lot in with the new evangelical college in Saskatoon.[66]

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[62] "From Week to Week," Ibid., XXXVI (June 24,1909),394.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Letter from J.D. Mullins, Secretary of the C.& C.C.S., to C.C. Owen, October 5, 1909, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

To compound the issue, the C. & C.C.S. was also dubious of the nominating committee's choice for the position of principal. On the clear understanding that the society would have a voice in his selection, the council of Bishop Latimer College had notified it of the nomination in August, 1909. Nevertheless, the C. & C.C.S. objected, stating the necessity of choosing not merely an "adequate" scholar and teacher, but one of "exceptional tact and able to cope with the great variety of critical if not hostile forces with which he would be confronted."[67] Sovereign defended the nominating committee's integrity, describing them as

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Letter from J.D. Mullins to C.C. Owen, October 15, 1909, Ibid.

"well known and representative churchmen," who more than anyone knew the conditions of Canada and the Far West. Furthermore, Vance was "a strong able worker" a "born organizer", and a "man of ability."[68] Sovereign then candidly suggested that if the society was still not content with the choice, they ought to nominate a man promptly, for further delay would give the other side "an opportunity to lay their own plans in such a way as to meet us and also if possible to start before us."[69] Even Vance replied in defense of his own abilities, pointing to the fact that the primate had suggested him for the post, a choice sanctioned by the nominating committee and the staff at Wycliffe. Recognizing his youth, he nevertheless stated his intention of meeting all situations "honestly and faithfully." Furthermore, he added, "I feel that I can say that in a peculiar degree I have the confidence of the Evangelicals here (B.C.)."[70]

The reality of the situation, so aptly described by Sovereign in his letter to Mullins, was that the initiators of Bishop Latimer College "wish in every way to respect your views and to have the support of the Society in England, not the financial support merely, but that which is far greater, your interest and approval."[71] In seeking such approval, however, many of their own convictions were sacrificed. The C.& C.C.S. eventually relented and reinstituted its grant. Nevertheless, the protest that had been raised indicated the amount of control that English societies like the C.& C.C.S. had over the affairs of the British Columbia church.

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[68] Letter from A.H. Sovereign to J.D. Mullins, October 7, 1909, Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, May 4, 1910, Ibid.

Amidst all the party bickering, however, was a gleam of hope. This came from the Bishop of Caledonia,' F.H. DuVernet, a man of strong evangelical principle and great vision.[72] Interested in "intermental action" or mental telepathy, Bishop DuVernet was able to bring to bear on church matters an inherent sensitivity and extraordinary perception that superceded any party lines. He felt that the glory of the Anglican church rested in its comprehensiveness. Men holding divergent views could be loyal churchmen if they could remain frank in the recognition of their differences. In British Columbia, the prevailing type of churchmanship in the south was high, in the north, evangelical. The first step towards united action was the recognition of this fact, the beginning of a "mutual confidence." For this reason, Bishop DuVernet regretted the establishment of a theological college in Vancouver without consultation with ecclesiastical authorities and without guarantee that other schools of thought would be tolerated within its walls. Nevertheless, neither could he condone the actions of the other side who also had no right to force on evangelicals an extreme type of high churchmanship. A choice lay before the church - non-co-operation, "compromise for the sake of peace", or "comprehension for the sake of truth." [73] The bishop's hope lay in the latter. It was out of such conviction, that the concept of the Anglican Theological College arose.

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[71] Letter from A.H. Sovereign to J.D. Mullins, October 7, 1909, Ibid.

[72] F.H. DuVernet (1860-1924) was born in Hemmingford, Quebec. Educated in Quebec and King's College, Nova Scotia, he proceeded to Wycliffe for theological training, being ordained deacon in 1883 and priest in 1884. From 1883 to 1885 he served parishes in Montreal, moving to Toronto as curate of St. Paul's Church in 1885. He was also employed as professor of Practical Theology at Wycliffe College, Toronto, from 1885 to 1895. The subsequent seven years were spent as secretary-treasurer of the Canadian C.M.S., followed by his appointment in 1904 as Bishop of Caledonia. From 1912 to 1924, DuVernet was also president of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, and Metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province from 1915 until his death.

Anglican Theological College

As Vance remarked to Mullins on May 6, 1911, "Things are changing." [74] It was true. Bishop Dart had died in 1910 and had been replaced by Bishop A.U. DePencier[75] who, although hesitant in recognizing Bishop Latimer College, had by December 1911 agreed to become 'Visitor' to the hall and to ordain two of its men who were to graduate in the spring of 1912. Bishop DePencier had, in fact, reacted strongly to Bishop Perrin's comments condemning Bishop Latimer College. As Vance reported, "He says that Latimer is in his diocese and Bishop Perrin had better not act as Archbishop till he is elected."[76] Thus, Bishop Perrin's extreme position was instrumental in forcing Bishop DePencier to side with the evangelical cause. Even Bishop Perrin, however, had relented enough by the turn of the year to send Vance "all good wishes for 1911." He was replaced in 1911 by Charles Roper who was "a very extreme man" theologically, but also "a scholar and a gentleman," "a great improvement on his predecessor"

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[73] F.H. DuVernet, "Home and Foreign Church News," Canadian Churchman, XXXVI (September 2, 1909), p. 524.

[74] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, May 6, 1911, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[75] Adam Urias DePencier (1866-1949) was born in Burritt's Rapids, Ontario. Educated privately for holy orders, he was ordained deacon and priest in 1890. He did, however, attend Trinity College, Toronto, to complete his M.A. in 1896. From 1890 to 1893 he was missionary at Navan,

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Ontario, being appointed vicar of the Cathedral of St. Alban the Martyr, Toronto, in 1893. In 1904 he was sent to Brandon, Manitoba, and in 1908 to St. Paul's Church, Vancouver. In 1910 he succeeded Dart as Bishop of New Westminster, becoming Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia upon DuVernet's death in 1925. He was described as "tall, well built, of military bearing, clear-headed, energetic and business-like. A moderate high churchman, with an abundance of sanctified common sense, he has done well for the Anglican Church in his native land." Quoted in O.R. Rowley, "Pillars of the Church: II - The Archbishop of New Westminster," Canadian Churchman, LXVI (September 7, 1939), p.488.

[76] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, November 5, 1910, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

according to Vance.[77]

Bishop Latimer College had made great strides in its first year of existence. A permanent building at 1548 Haro Street had been purchased, affiliation with the University of British Columbia secured, and a Woman's Aid formed to assist in the furnishing of the college. A second professor had also been appointed, the Rev. H.R. Trumpour. His task was the teaching of New Testament Greek and Patristics at a starting salary of $1600 a year.[78] The council expressed its appreciation of Vance's dedication to the college, pointing to "the Growth of the work and the increasingly friendly attitude of the whole Church toward the institution. The present favourable position of the College has been obtained in the face of what at times seemed insuperable difficulties."[79] Attendance had increased and those graduating had been granted good permanent positions. There was even talk of co-operation in curriculum with other theological colleges affiliated with the University of British Columbia.[80] Lay enthusiasm also continued

[77] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, December 11, 1911, Ibid. John Charles Roper (1858-1940) was born in Sussex, England. Educated at Keble College, Oxford, he was ordained deacon in 1882 and priest in 1883. From 1882-85 he served parishes in England, coming to Toronto as professor at Trinity College in 1885. From 1897 to 1912 he was professor of Dogmatic Theology, at the General Theological Seminary in New York. In 1912 he was appointed Bishop of British Columbia and in 1915 Bishop of Ottawa.

[78] Minutes of the Latimer Hall Council, July 21, 1911, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.137.

[79] Minutes of the Latimer Hall Council, January 18, 1912, Ibid., 155.

[80] Ibid., 157.

unabated. In light of such vitality, Bishop DuVernet optimistically commented that since Bishop Latimer College's position was now strong, it would be easier for high and low parties "to meet on common ground without any sacrifice of principle,"[81] especially since there was yet no sign of St. Mark's College.

Thus, he issued a challenge to the British Columbian church to reconsider its recent actions.

> This is a momentous crisis. The eyes of the whole Canadian Church are upon us. We in the free and unfettered west are in a position to show the older east hampered by many associations and bound by many ancient prejudices, how to apply to Church matters the great principle which will yet be known as the principle of the twentieth century in contrast to the principle of the nineteenth century - co-operation instead of competition, unity in diversity.[82]

What he had in mind was the creation of a central institution that would draw Bishop Latimer College and the proposed St. Mark's under a common canopy. The idea had first been discussed by Bishops DePencier and Perrin in company of Mullins, in September 1910. They suggested the establishment of a Divinity Board including the bishops, representatives from the diocesan synods and the principals of Bishop Latimer College and St. Mark's, when appointed. This board would negotiate with the government for a building site on the new Point Grey campus, draw up a scheme of theological education making use of alternative texts in accordance with the canons of General Synod, and issue diplomas. The bishops agreed that the money from the Pan-Anglican Thank-Offering fund set aside for a Provincial Theological College, should be used in erecting a building to contain lecture rooms, convocation hall, and library. Bishop Latimer College and St. Mark's would, however, raise their own funds for the erecting of separate residences.[83] Bishop Perrin, still unconvinced, later opposed the creating of such an institution, sparking a heated response from Mullins reminding the bishop of his previous consent. It also pointed out that there existed "*in Vancouver a strong evangelical lay opinion in favour of a distinctly Evangelical College*"and that this was spontaneous and existed quite independently of external stimulus. On the other hand, there seemed to be "*no local interest in the other College, or any appreciable local monetary support for it other than the money contributed from England*."[84] Thus, the bishop ought to recognize the reality of the situation and work for the interests of the whole church.

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[81] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, November 5, 1910, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[82] F.H. DuVernet, "Bishop's Charge," Across the Rockies: News from the Front, Supplement (October, 1911), p.8.

Finally, at a meeting of the Bishops of Columbia, Caledonia and New Westminster on November 29, 1910, a "Plan for Theological Education in the Church of England in the Province of British Columbia" was drawn up and signed. In reference to the "Plan", as it later became known, Bishop Perrin explained to his synod that:

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[83] Letter from J.D. Mullins to W.W. Perrin, November 16, 1910, *Ibid*.

[84] *Ibid*.

> My own first idea was to ignore it, but the sad history in the east of Canada, of two opposing Theological Colleges in Toronto, and the opinions of those I respect highly, have led me to accept this scheme.

Nevertheless, he unrelentingly added, "no one can deplore more than I do the manner in which Latimer College was started, and the fact that party feeling is so high as to render it necessary in the judgement of the founders."[85] Much bitterness between the two parties still remained.

With the approval of the three bishops, the "Plan" for theological education was presented to the respective synods and to the council of Bishop Latimer College for discussion and ratification. Its preamble spelled out the arrangements concerning the governing body:

> There shall be an Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, with a Board of Governors, consisting of the Bishops of the several Dioceses of the Province, and if it prove absolutely necessary to establish separate Halls, the heads of such Halls ex-officio, and also three clerics and three lay members representing each Diocese of the Province...The Board of Governors shall at its annual meeting elect a Chairman, who

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[85] W.W. Perrin, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Twelfth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia (October 2-3, 1911), p. 12.

> shall also be President of the Anglican Theological College.[86]

Provision was made for each hall to build its own residence and to employ its own staff to teach subjects not given by the larger institution. Each hall would elect its own council, and raise its own funds for the support of its individual efforts. Nevertheless, all students would be registered in the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia with all the privileges offered by the Board of Governors. This board would be responsible for financing the central institution and issuing diplomas.[87] Alternative texts would be provided in the teaching of controversial subjects and students would be tested by sympathetic examiners.

Referring to the "Plan" as "a most satisfactory settlement," Vance presented it to the council of Bishop Latimer College on December 15, 1910. Reaction favoured the proposal and it was resolved that:

> the Council of Bishop Latimer College accept the "Plan for Theological Education in the Church of England in the Province of British Columbia" as signed by the Bishops of Columbia, Caledonia and New Westminster on Nov. 29, 1910 and pledge themselves to do all in their power to promote its harmonious working.[88]

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[86] "Plan for Theological Education in the Church of England in the Province of British Columbia as finally amended and adopted at the meeting of the Bishops and representatives of the four Dioceses of the Province held in St. Paul's Schoolroom, Vancouver, on August 24th, 1911" (A.T.C. files).

[87] Ibid.

[88] Minutes of the Bishop Latimer College Council, December 15, 1910, "Minute Book, Bishop Latimer College," p.99.

In event of the final adoption of the plan, the council also agreed to change the name of the college to "Latimer Hall."[89] These decisions awaited the sanction of the diocesan synods.

On February 8-9, 1911, the synod of the diocese of New Westminster met. The plan met immediate opposition in correspondence from England that attempted to sway opinion against its proposals. The correspondence was a memorandum from the British Columbia Church Jubilee Fund committee, stating that the money from the Pan-Anglican Thank-Offering Fund had been allocated to a specifically "provincial" theological college, and not to a lesser institution such as a "Hall or Hostel," nor yet to a mere "Theological Faculty."[90] In reviewing the "Plan," the committee had grave doubts as to whether the proposed Anglican Theological College met the conditions. It was not that the committee favoured St. Mark's over the other institutions, for it admitted that the college "does not exist, and has never existed." Nor did the committee wish their actions to be interpreted "as being in the nature of adverse criticism of the 'Plan'." They merely felt obliged to notify the synods that their definition of the term "Provincial Theological College" limited their freedom to delegate their funds.[91]

[89] Ibid.

[90] British Columbia Church Jubilee Fund Resolutions and Memorandum, January 12, 1911, p.7. Correspondence of Principals Vance and Shortt (A.T.C. files).

[91] Ibid., 7-8.

This attempt to block approval of the plan merely defeated its own purpose. As Vance explained, not only did they deny the existence of St. Mark's and its claim to the funds as a "Provincial Theological College," but they also created resentment by their Meddlesome tactics. Consequently, examination of the plan was left to an executive committee and no attempt to sanction St. Mark's was made. When the anticipated opposition did not materialize, Vance optimistically remarked that it was now safe to consider the plan accepted. He cautioned over-enthusiastic Latimer supporters by pointing to the great responsibility that lay in the hands of the hall as the sole theological institution. "We must live up to our opportunity." [92]

Vance's initial optimism dimmed slightly as August 24, 1911 drew near. This was the date set for the gathering of bishops and diocesan representatives which would decide whether or not the "Plan" would be accepted. Rather apprehensively he explained to Mullins that the "Kootenay committee rejected the plan. We may affiliate with them but they wish to be the college." The Columbia committee had accepted but "they wish a common chapel." [93] Despite his reservations, however, the plan was approved and adopted.

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[92] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Latimer Hall Council, February 16, 1911, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.113.

[93] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, August 12, 1911. Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

Vance was thrilled. This acceptance meant that Latimer Hall too gained full recognition as an integral part of the church's system of theological education in British Columbia and in the Dominion. It also provided the hall with funds otherwise available only for sectional purposes. "Above all," he remarked, "we now have the admitted right to teach what we believe to be the true teaching of our Church. In addition to all this we have a plan which admits of co-operation where co-operation is possible...and thus we present a united front to the world."[94] The new Bishop of Columbia was equally enthusiastic, applauding the fact that men of varying schools within the church had been brought together, "actuated by a desire for the attainment of one common object'."[95] Perhaps the most joyful was the Bishop of Caledonia to whom the "Plan" owed its origin. A man of insight and foresight he had challenged the church in British Columbia at a critical moment: "The ground is clear. We have not to pull up the stumps of old associations or level the mounds of united interests... Manifestly now is the supreme moment. We are building for generations yet unborn."[96] The church had accepted the challenge, and the result was the formation of the Anglican Theological College.

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[94] W.H. Vance, Second Annual Report to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 16, 1911, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.175.

[95] J.C. Roper, "Bishop's Charge", Journal of the Thirteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia (October 28-29,1912), p.18.

[96] F.H. DuVernet, "Bishop's Charge," Across the Rockies: News From the Front Supplement (October, 1911) p.6.

The picture was not complete, however. One hall had asked for affiliation with the College. The other had not yet come into being.

St. Mark's College

Preoccupied by the task of halting the growth of Bishop Latimer College and awaiting word concerning the site of the new University of British Columbia, St. Mark's had not gotten beyond the planning stages. Furthermore, as Bishop DePencier had so clearly pointed out, St. Mark's had always lacked the enthusiastic lay support that had been so conducive to Latimer Hall's rapid growth. The idea for St. Mark's had begun with one man and had remained in the hands of a small group of local clergy, with the approval of a prestigious British committee. Thus, although a meeting was held in September, 1909, for the purpose of formulating a constitution for and obtaining incorporation of St. Mark's, no laymen were present. It was not until the spring of 1912 that lay support was called for. Upon the occasion of the consecration of Bishop Roper, a number of interested clergy again met to discuss the organization of St. Mark's and to appoint a deputation to present the matter to the three bishops. The proposal was warmly received, the Bishop of Columbia pointing out that the "Plan" would not be complete without St. Mark's. Subsequently a public meeting was called for St. Mark's Day, April 25, 1912, at which clergy and laity from the four dioceses were to be present.

At this meeting a council, similar to that of Latimer Hall, was elected. The lay representatives were, once again, influential citizens as well as interested churchmen. A.McC. Creery was the manager of the insurance department of H. Bell-Irving and Company, Limited, "and by virtue of this position and the force of the ability by which he achieved it a power in business circles in Vancouver."[97] Beaumont Boggs, a later addition to the council, was a prosperous Victoria businessman, a member of the firm of R.S. Day and Beaumont Boggs, real estate, insurance and financial agents. Respected for his exemplary conduct and high moral worth, Boggs brought great benefit to St. Mark's council.[98] Captain A.J.B. Mellish, famous for his military feats in the Boer War, a barrister, a Conservative in politics, and a "strong imperialist;"[99] and A.E. Smith, a financier responsible for bringing foreign capital into the British Columbia mining industry,[100] were other members. Having gained such strong lay support, St. Mark's was duly constituted, and by October a house at 1249 Davie Street had been purchased and classes begun under the leadership of the principal, the Rev. C.A. Seager.[101] A financial campaign was also initiated by the Women's Guild of St. Mark's Hall, soliciting "One Thousand Churchwomen for One Dollar Each."[102] Bishop Dart's dream had been realized.

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[97] "Andrew McC. Creery," *British Columbia From the Earliest Times to the Present: Biographical*, III (Vancouver: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), p.205.

[98] "Beaumont T.F.W. Boggs," *Ibid*., 400-402.

[99] "A.J.B. Mellish," *Ibid*., 1114-1119.

[100] "Archibald E. Smith," *Ibid*., 510-513.

The intended character of the college was clearly spelled out in the first issue of St. Mark's Hall Bulletin, November, 1912. Many misconceptions, Seager insisted, existed concerning its nature. In essence it was "the virtual realization, under altered conditions, of the plan of the late Bishop of New Westminster." His intention had not been the establishment of an extreme High church institution but

> a College in which candidates for Holy Orders should receive a thorough grounding in a sound theology based upon the fundamental principles of the Anglican Branch of the

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[101] Charles A. Seager (1872-1948) was born in Goderich, Ontario. Educated at Trinity College, Toronto, he was ordained deacon in 1896 and priest in 1897. From 1896 to 1911 he served several parishes in Toronto, arriving as rector of Vernon in 1911. Upon the institution of St. Mark's in 1912 he was named principal, a position he held until 1917 when he left to become rector of St. Matthias', Toronto. From 1921 to 1926 he was Provost of Trinity College, Toronto, and in 1926 he became Bishop of Ontario. His chequered career led him on to the bishopric of Huron, and finally to the position as Metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario.

[102] From letter from the Women's Guild of St. Mark's Hall, from Mrs. Anna Creery, November, 1912, Folder on St. Mark's Hall (A.T.C. files).

> Church Catholic, a training in that spiritual life essential to a clergyman, an instruction in the practical side of their further work.[103]

Its graduates were not to be men of a certain "stripe" but clergy with a broad but definite churchmanship. With these aims in mind, St. Mark's joined with Latimer Hall in gaining affiliation with the Anglican Theological College in July, 1912.

The plan of "unity in diversity," as proposed by Bishop DuVernet, was an earnest attempt by a man of vision to penetrate beyond narrow religious perspectives and to seek a creative solution to what he sensed to be the urgency of the province's needs. He realized that the old hostilities perpetuated within the two schools would prevent them from exercising an effective ministry. The presence of two Anglican theological colleges was symbolic of the "self-indulgence" of the Victorian and Edwardian eras,[104] of a society that could afford to tolerate constant bickering and duplication of facilities. In 1912, however, the world was tottering on the brink of a new age, and almost as if he could sense the change that was about to occur, Bishop DuVernet feared that the colleges would prove inadequate. Consequently he issued his challenge to the church.

[103] C.A. Seager, "Editorial," St. Mark's Hall Bulletin, I (November, 1912), p.1.

[104] Ormsby, British Columbia, p.376.

The plan that emerged was a far cry from the bleak prospects of 1909 when reconciliation between high and low seemed impossible. Nevertheless, for another eight years, the two colleges clung to the old tradition in bitter hope that they could weather the storm. It was indeed a time of struggle, and both old and new patterns were sorely tried.

Chapter III

Years of Struggle
1912 - 1920

The intervening years between the founding of the Anglican Theological College in 1912 and the amalgamation of the two affiliated halls in 1920 were years of struggle, as they were for the province in general. In 1913 the economic boom that had brought unprecedented prosperity to the province collapsed. British capital withdrew sending profits in real estate and building plummeting downward. There were riots among coal miners at Nanaimo. Copper production fell and a slump hit the silver and lead markets. In the face of this, the McBride government took upon itself the task of completing the Pacific Great Eastern railway from Prince George to Howe Sound, already a curse to the private company that had begun it.

The outbreak of war in 1914 brought no relief. The price of minerals continued to fall. Lack of shipping caused pileups of timber and canned salmon. Buying power on the prairies, destroyed by the collapse of the speculative boom and high freight rates to eastern Canada, adversely affected Okanagan fruit growers. Sales in public land fell from two million acres in 1910 to 45,000 acres in 1914.[1] Unemployment relief reached

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[1] Ormsby, British Columbia, p.384.

$150,000 in the winter of 1914. Manpower was the province's greatest loss, however. From all facets of life they came - ranchers, fruit growers, railway workmen, loggers, miners, fishermen, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, civil servants, students and even members of the legislature - to volunteer for war. By the end of the war British Columbia had contributed 55,570 men, 6,225 of whom were killed.[2]

The Anglican Theological College, with its two affiliated halls, was not totally oblivious to the turmoil surrounding it. For the present, however, it was preoccupied with more immediate concerns. Constant bickering over finances and policy between the two halls and British missionary societies kept the higher echelons in confusion. In the realm of daily affairs and in matters of curriculum the surface appeared calm. Underneath, however, eddies of partisanship frequently muddied issues. It was in such an atmosphere that both the old traditions from which the two colleges had emerged and the new patterns suggested by Bishop DuVernet were tested.

External Bickering

The first inkling of trouble within the ranks of the Anglican Theological College appeared in Principal Vance's report to the council of Latimer Hall in November,

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[2] Ibid., 377.

1912. In reference to financial policy he remarked

> One matter I wish to refer to. At the meeting on Oct. 2nd it was discovered that though St. Mark's Hall had accepted the 'Bishop's Plan' at their organization meeting on April 25th, at their next meeting on May 7th they passed a resolution making application for assistance from the B.C. Church Aid Society in plain contravention of clause G of the plan.[3]

"Needless to say," he later announced to the Trustees, "we protested...".[4]

Clause G of the "Plan" had clearly stated that the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College "apply for and use Pan-Anglican Grant, the portion of the British Columbia Church Aid Society Fund received subsequent to June 23, 1910, to be devoted to General Theological Education in the Province for the endowment of common chairs and the erection and maintainment of the common buildings." This implied that requests to the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society (B.C.& Y.C.A.S.) that did not go through official channels were invalid. In defiance of this, however, Dean Doull[5] of

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[3] W.H. Vance, Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, November 7, 1912, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.182.

[4] W.H. Vance, Report to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 15, 1913, Ibid., 200.

[5] Alexander John Doull (1870-1937) was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Educated at Pictou Academy and later at Oxford, he was ordained deacon in 1896 and priest in 1898. From 1896 to 1899 he held the curacy of Leeds, England, returning in that year to take up the curacy of the Church of the Advent, Westmount, Montreal. From 1910 to 1915 he was Dean of Columbia and rector of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria, British Columbia. In 1915 he was consecrated the first Bishop of Kootenay, a position he held until his retirement in 1933.

Columbia, a staunch high churchman, had requested the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. for financial assistance to St. Mark's only, to the sum of £600. This action in itself greatly upset Principal Vance, but the issue was further compounded by the response of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S.

This society, an outgrowth of the New Westminster and Kootenay Missionary Associations, was formed on January 31, 1910. Its objective was the financial assistance of the Anglican church in British Columbia through the endowment of bishoprics, the provision of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, religious education and the training of candidates for the sacred ministry, at a time when older societies such as the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. were steadily withdrawing support. The society's three basic principles were commendable: to strengthen already existing spiritual agencies; not "to interfere with the Bishops and their advisors in British Columbia," but to work in close co-operation with their requests; and to support no party bias, remaining, instead, as broad and comprehensive in its outlook as the Anglican church itself.[6] Despite its good intentions, however, the B.C.& Y.C.A.S. soon found itself embroiled in controversy over its financial policies.

Partly responsible for this involvement was the society's mentor, general secretary and chief spokesman - the Rev. Jocelyn Perkins. A man of many talents, Perkins

[6] "British Columbia Church Aid Society: Its General Aim and Object," Across the Rockies, I (July, 1910), pp.15-16.

was a professional journalist, a budding politician, having run in one municipal election against the labour party, and during the war, a chaplain to wounded troops in France. His main occupation was that of sacrist and minor canon of Westminster Abbey. It was in his role as the guiding spirit of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S., however, that Perkins had the greatest impact upon the Anglican Theological College. He was an outspoken and determined little man, very Victorian in his attitude toward the colonial Anglican church. His stubborn insistence on moulding the British Columbia church to meet his standards caused increasing friction with its leaders, especially those of evangelical background. His theological stance was equally disagreeable to men like Vance, for Perkins was definitely high church, although he consistently denied any such party bias. He had, however, been an ardent supporter of St. Mark's from its inception and had strongly condemned the action taken by evangelicals in the founding of Latimer Hall. He also spoke unsparingly of any who crossed his intentions, such as Vance or Bishop DuVernet. Thus, although Perkins was genuinely concerned about the welfare of the Anglican Theological College, his domineering tactics and meddlesome maneuvers, coupled with his high church bias, did little to endear him to an institution that was struggling towards independence and maturity.

Perkins' initial reaction towards Doull's request was one of hesitation. As he explained to the Bishop of New Westminster: "I must confess I feel uncomfortable about the whole thing."[7] His predicament rested in the fact that the money raised by the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. was designated specifically for "an Anglican Provincial Theological College."[8] St. Mark's, however, although originally intended as a "public" institution, had emerged as a "private" establishment, "constituted without a single Bishop on the Governing Body organised simply by a body of Clergy (and) laity."[9] With this in mind the Council of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. had wrestled with the issue. Some wished to support only the central institution, the Anglican Theological College. Others were reluctant to take any measure that would support Latimer Hall, remembering "the not very creditable circumstances which surrounded the birth...three years ago."[10] Still others hesitated to support St. Mark's because of its "private unofficial" nature, fearful that it too was becoming "tainted...with the spirit of party, which of course," Perkins insisted, "the British Columbia Church Aid Society is and always has been opposed tooth and nail."[11] Nevertheless, at the July meeting the council passed a resolution stating that although it regretted the fact that St. Mark's was not representative of the whole province, it recognized the importance of the theological training it had already initiated. Consequently the society agreed to fulfill Doull's request and also "to consider favourably any similar application which may be made by other Halls already in existence or to be formed later on."[12]

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[7] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, June 27, 1912, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," pp. 79-80.

[8] Ibid., 80.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, July 24, 1912, Ibid., 95.

[11] Ibid.

Despite the concession in favour of Latimer Hall, Vance was furious. Not only had St. Mark's ignored official channels in making the request but also the B.C.&Y.C.A.S. had actually granted it, both in complete disregard of the rules laid forth in the "Plan." When Principal Seager called to inform him that a grant of £600 had later been made to both halls, on the recommendation of Doull, Vance would have nothing to do with it, declaring that "it must be made clear to the members of the Board of Governors that private interference with our work must cease and all communications must be sent to the English Societies through the official channels."[13] Furthermore, both sides must be willing to adhere to the terms of the "Plan," particularly in financial matters. For, as Vance stated, "If we cannot be fair in matters of money we will not be fair in any way."[14] Vance frankly expressed his opinion at the Board of Governors meeting on October 2, at which Jocelyn Perkins was present. In fact, a resolution was passed stating that "the B.C.C.A. Society be respectfully requested that future grants to the cause of Theological Education in B.C. be placed at the disposal of the Board of the Anglican Theological College."[15] This was not done in any "spirit of dictation". However, as Vance later commented, "Perkins never had a warmer time than he had with our laymen who talked to him in the plainest possible terms."[16]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 96.

[13] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, August 23, 1912, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[14] *Ibid.*

Not content with mere resolutions, Vance proceeded to rally evangelical support within the B.C.&Y.C.A.S. council itself. In a letter to Prebendary Fox, he explained the issue and enclosed a copy of the resolution passed at the October meeting. With this information, Fox confronted the council, insisting that the society pledge itself to support neither hall rather than just one. In Perkins' words, when the council refused to comply, Fox got "very hot" and finally "flung himself out of the room in a rage."[17] The issue consequently was left in the hands of an executive committee who, in reaction to evangelical interference, insisted "that the time had come when we must make it clear to some of the more contentious spirits out in the West that we could not and would not be treated in such summary fashion."[18] As a result, all financial assistance to the Anglican Theological College for 1912 was halted until the air cleared.

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[15] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, October 25, 1912, Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, May 26, 1913, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," p.154.

According to Perkins, such halting of aid was regrettable, but as he heatedly remarked to the Bishop of New Westminster, "the only persons to blame are your beautiful Protestants."[19] "I cannot repress a certain amount of indignation," he had stormed in a letter to the Bishop of Columbia, "that people six thousand miles away out in the Far West should dare to write here and try to pull the wires in our own Council over here."[20] Nevertheless, he felt that the society's reaction in withholding aid would help people in the West "to realize that we are not exactly hewers of wood and drawers of water to be ordered about just as they please and treated like a milch cow."[21] Ironically, Perkins' objection to interference in the society's inner counsels was to exactly the same tactics at which Vance had been so annoyed. Perkins railed against attempts to curtail the society's freedom in decision making; Vance fumed at the B.C.&Y.C.A.S.'s apparent disregard for guidelines set forth in the "Plan". The latter's anger was now further inflamed by what appeared to be outright manipulation of the western church by another British organization. Again Perkins was involved.

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[18] _Ibid_., 156.

[19] _Ibid_.

[20] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of Columbia, November 20, 1912, "Bishop of Columbia Letterbook," p.34.

[21] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, May 26, 1913, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook" p.153.

In May, 1912, the British Columbia Church Jubilee Fund (B.C.C.J.F.) had allocated to the three bishops of British Columbia all the funds under its jurisdiction to be used at the bishops' discretion. Subsequently, the bishops had submitted a proposal to the committee, alloting £2000 to the new Anglican Theological College and £326 to St. Mark's. Again, partisan bias reared its head. The committee disapproved of this plan on the grounds that their money had been raised before the institution of either Latimer Hall or the Anglican Theological College. Since members of the committee had never resolved their feelings of "repugnance" at the unwanted appearance of Latimer Hall, they could not approve a grant to the Anglican Theological College if, directly or indirectly, a portion of it would benefit the evangelical college. On the other hand, the committee had always favoured Bishop Dart's proposals and although St. Mark's was not entirely the institution for which he had hoped, it was nonetheless more consistent with his objectives than either the Anglican Theological College or Latimer Hall. The committee did admit that it had entrusted the British Columbia bishops with full rights in the distribution of funds. This had been done, however, in the confidence that they would act "in such a manner as would harmonise with the views of the Committee and the various subscribers of the Fund."[22] The bishops had failed to do so, and the committee consequently invited them to reconsider their proposal.

This about-face by the B.C.C.J.F. committee, of which Perkins was again chief spokesman, coupled with the B.C.&Y.C.A.S.'s grant to St. Mark's, seemed to powers within the British Columbian church an unnecessary interference in local affairs. Evangelicals were further alarmed at such blatant disrespect for their presence. By the spring of 1913 the B.C.C.J.F. committee had given in to the bishops "with as good grace as possible.".[23] Also, a modus vivendi had been reached between the B.C.& Y.C.A.S. and the Board of Governors of the College by which the society passed a resolution, with the approval of the Bishop of Columbia, recommending that "it be the policy of the Society to assist the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia in as large and generous a manner as possible, and reserve to themselves the right of considering the needs of the affiliated Halls upon application endorsed by the Board of Governors of the College."[24] Nevertheless, Perkins was swift to reassure

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[22] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of Columbia (no exact date given but probably either late December, 1912, or early January, 1913),"Bishop of Columbia Letterbook," pp.41-42.

[23] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, May 26, 1913,"Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," p.151.

[24] Letter from J. Perkins to W. Clark , Secretary to the Anglican Theological College, June 3, 1913, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.10.

Seager that St. Mark's would "not be left without help from English sources, a piece of news which I know you will appreciate."[25] The struggle was not yet over. As long as the Anglican Theological College depended upon Britain for financial assistance, and as long as the two halls remained rivals, conflict was inevitable.

Perhaps the toughest struggle of the Anglican Theological College with powers in Britain concerned not finances but attitudes. In a letter to the Bishop of Kootenay, the former Dean Doull, Perkins dismissed Canadian, and particularly far western, theological education as alarmingly inadequate:

> Is St. Mark's, or any other Theological College in Canada really able to equip its students as priests of a great Church should be equipped? The answer to this question is to my mind in the negative. St. Mark's can do a good deal, not least in the acclimatizing, as it were, of its students, but there are many things in the Old Country which neither St. Mark's nor any other Institution between the Atlantic and the Pacific can teach.[26]

In the B.C. & Y.C.A.S.'s opinion, Canadian trained clergy exhibited three basic weaknesses - inadequacy of training, narrowness of outlook, and a low intellectual standard. In saying this, the society had "no desire to cast any stones at the various excellent institutions which do such invaluable work in training men."[27] Nevertheless, the isolation of regions like British Columbia "from things political, ecclesiastical, literary, artistic and what not" inevitably resulted in a very "local" and "parochial" outlook.[28] This, coupled with the primarily "materialistic" attitude of the far west could obviously divert clergy's minds "away from matters intellectual."[29] The only remedy for these deficiencies would be to send graduates of the Anglican Theological College to England on B.C.&Y.C.A.S. scholarships for a two or three year experience in an English curacy. The value of men after such an experience would be "trebled."[30]

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[25] Letter from J. Perkins to C.A. Seager, May 19, 1913, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.4.

[26] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of Kootenay, October 26, 1915, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," pp.34-35.

The B.C.&Y.C.A.S., and Perkins in particular, reflected a very Victorian view of the Canadian church. Politically, Canada was still perceived as a colony; ecclesiastically, the Canadian church was no more than a colonial offspring of the Mother Church and hence, definitely inferior. Such patronizing attitudes irked men in the western church, but until the western church became independent it could do little to challenge them. Vance, recognizing the predicament, optimistically remarked in 1913 that :

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[27] British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society Memorandum, 1916, p.23, Correspondence of Principals Vance and Shortt (A.T.C. files).

[28] *Ibid*., 24.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of Kootenay, October 26, 1915, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," p.35.

> For our own self-respect, if for no other reason, we cannot constantly appeal to the Church of England for the support of church work here. In fact, I feel that the Canadian Church would be infinitely better off if she resolutely decided to depend entirely upon her own resources. She can do so. She simply needs a little courageous leadership to lead her to prove it.[31]

As an astute businessman and fund-raiser, Vance had the vision that such independence was possible. Hence, just as during the war years Canada gradually began to break her political connection with Great Britain so the Anglican Theological College, and Latimer Hall in particular, began the process of severing political links with the B.C.&Y.C.A.S. The evangelical branch of the Anglican Theological College was particularly eager for such separation. Perkins' theological bias and seeming disregard of the evangelical presence within the major institution did little to endear him to those of Latimer Hall. Furthermore, the evangelical sector feared domination of any sort, for it was only within an atmosphere of independence and theological freedom that they could effectively exercise their mission. For the present, however, internal preoccupations delayed a major confrontation.

[31] "Latimer's Third Successful Year," Vancouver Daily Province, May 8, 1913, p.17.

Internal Struggles

College officials were not totally absorbed by external conflicts. Both Latimer Hall and St. Mark's grew rapidly after 1912. Thus, the mundane problems of seeking financial support, developing a balanced curriculum, and coping with difficulties amongst staff and students were equally demanding. Within the broader context of the Anglican Theological College co-operation was attempted, despite theological differences. Thus the years between 1912 and 1920 reflected the struggles of two schools seeking to establish themselves, often at the expense of the larger institution. At times the bonds holding the Anglican Theological College together were severely strained.

Latimer Hall had grown rapidly in its first years of existence. Enrollment for the first year of operation had totalled seven. The second year witnessed an increase to fourteen; the third, to fifteen. The house at 1548 Haro Street, in one of the better residential sections of Vancouver, contained a common room, dining-lecture room, library and kitchen downstairs, with sleeping quarters above. By 1912 construction of an annex to provide cubicles for six additional students was under way. Assistance in furnishing the college came from the Woman's Aid, organized in 1911 largely from women of Christ Church. They provided furniture, bedding, kitchen utensils, rugs, pictures and even potted plants - all for the comfort of the students. Another task of the Woman's Aid was the provision of the larder, and for this purpose their annual Jam and Pickle Donation Tea became famous. In fact in 1915 the proceeds from their "Annual Pickle Push" (as the students affectionately labelled it) included 134 jars of fruit, 28 jars of pickles, five cans of fruit, one of asparagus, two pounds of coffee and a broom.[32] Assistance in stocking the cupboards also came from farmers in the Fraser Valley. The priest in Sardis, T.E. Rowe, proposed to Professor Trumpour that:

> If I could get all the farmers to put in just a tiny plot each for the Hall it would make something worth sending in the fall. Some of them of course send to St. Mark's, but most of them do not care to which the stuff is sent, and all these I can get for Latimer. I am sure that if the matter were properly worked in the different parishes that all the fruit and vegetables would be supplied, which the Hall could use.[33]

His solicitations on behalf of Latimer Hall were not in vain, for one shipment from Sardis alone included 19 bags of potatoes and boxes of apples.[34] Despite these donations, however, the administrating and financing of Latimer Hall remained a heavy task. In addition, Chesterfield Boys School in North Vancouver, had been acquired as a possible feeder to Latimer Hall, as Ridley at St. Catherines was to Wycliffe.

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[32] Bessie P. Choate, "History of the Guild to the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, Vancouver B.C.: Organized 11th September, 1911." I (December, 1965), p.34.

[33] Letter from T.E. Rowe to H. Trumpour, February 3, 1915, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.238.

[34] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, December 17, 1914," Ibid.

The leadership of both enterprises lay in capable hands. Noted for his business acumen, Principal Vance spent much time touring the province and even the rest of the dominion in search of subscriptions for Latimer Hall. His unfailing success rested largely on his ability to empathize with people and their problems, which earned him their respect and love and also their financial assistance. Theologically, Vance was as unflinchingly evangelical as Perkins was high church. His rigid stance often evoked sharp disagreement, but as the Rev. A.L. Morrant, rector of St. Andrews Church, Trail, B.C., noted: "You might not always agree with him, you might feel a great desire to oppose him, but you would have to take him into consideration and admire the mind and personality behind the idea."[35] His tendency towards abruptness in the expression of his feelings often created friction but the personal concern that accompanied such statements enabled a wholesome clearing of the air which made progress possible.[36] Vance's executive and legislative talents were equally revered, the Canadian Churchman acknowledging that "the canons and decisions of our Church owe more to Dr. Vance than to nine-tenths of the rest of us."[37] Because of his businesslike attitude, Vance often appeared austere and cold. He was certainly a strict disciplinarian, with definite opinions concerning proper moral conduct. Nevertheless, his strong faith and genuine concern for his students stimulated in return great respect and a desire to please. It was such characteristics that enabled Vance to cope with a task that would have broken a lesser man.

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[35] A.L. Morrant, in a tribute to Principal Vance, Trail Daily Times, July 2, 1935. This information came from a clipping found in Principal Vance Biographical Files (A.T.C. files). I have, however, been unable to track down the original source.

Whereas Vance was the austere businessman and dominating leader his chief assistant, Harry Trumpour,[38] was the scholar and warm friend to the students, counterbalancing Vance's severity. A devoted student of the New Testament, with a profound understanding of Greek and the writings of early church fathers, Trumpour was able to challenge his students. In tribute to this teaching ability, K.B. Frampton, a graduate of Latimer Hall in 1915, wrote nearly forty-five years later:

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[36] "Principal Vance," Vancouver Daily Province, June 24, 1935, p.6.

[37] R.A. Armstrong & C.E. McIntyre, "A Chat with The Editor", Canadian Churchman, LXII (June 27, 1935), p.402.

[38] Harry Trumpour (1879-1947) was born in Napanee, Ontario. Educated at the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College, he was ordained deacon in 1905 and priest in 1908. Headmaster at Rothesay Boys College in New Brunswick for two years, he proceeded in 1908 to Peterborough, Ontario, whence he was rector of All Saints Church for three years. In 1911 he was appointed Professor of New Testament at Latimer Hall. He served in this capacity after the amalgamation in 1920, becoming principal of the Anglican Theological College in 1936 after Dr. Vance's death. His time was divided between the college and St. Helen's parish, which he had founded at Point Grey in 1913.

> Of the lecturers I shall never forget Harry Trumpour. He was a great man. He shattered many of my ideas for me, and I must admit he shook me. Now I realize how much he did for me, and how much I owed to him.[39]

Other part-time lecturers included the Rev. A.H. Sovereign, in Systematic Theology and Apologetics, the Rev. C.C. Owen, in Pastoral Theology, and the Rev. G.H. Wilson in Old Testament and Ecclesiastical History. Of a less academic character, but no less indispensible were the various housekeepers of Latimer Hall, responsible for cleaning, cooking and caring for the students. One, a large Irish woman, was famous for her rebuttal to Principal Vance's plea to cut food expenses: "Love and Divinity are very good, but they are not fattening."[40]

Entrance requirements for Latimer Hall were fairly stringent. The principles set forth in the calendar left no doubt as to the college's aim - to train evangelical clergy. The questions asked an applicant ensured that only those sincerely desiring such training would be admitted:

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[39] K.B. Frampton, "Early Days at Latimer," Via Media: Jubilee Year, 1960-1961, p.15.

[40] F.C. Shepherd, Ibid., 16.

> What is your practice as to amusements, public and private? What has been your plan of Bible Study? Have you had any experience in Christian work? What are the chief motives which lead you to desire to enter upon the study of theology? Do you consider yourself called of God to the work of the Christian Ministry? What, in your view, is a genuine Christian? How far does your personal experience correspond? [41]

Academic qualifications for entrance usually implied a passing grade in the matriculation examination for entrance into McGill University. Special permission could be granted for the entrance of non-matriculants if the Committee on Students was satisfied that the candidate could cope with college courses. The final degree, conferred by the Anglican Theological College in accordance with the canon of General Synod concerning divinity degrees, demanded proficiency in Old and New Testament studies, Greek, Hebrew, Systematic Theology, Apologetics, Church History, Patristics, Ecclesiology and Elocution. Practical experience was gained by teaching Sunday School, assisting in services and helping at the Chinese and Japanese missions, all city activities, as well as assisting in missionary parishes throughout the province during the summer. As Vance proudly announced at one Council meeting: "During four months of the present term they (students) conducted 20 services, assisted in 40 services, gave twenty-nine

[41] Application form containing questions to be answered in applying to Latimer Hall, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," n.p.

addresses and taught 204 Sunday-School classes."[42]

Daily college life was highly regimented. All students not resident in Vancouver were required to live in the college building unless specially exempted, and no allowance for absence was made without special permission. Regular attendance at morning and evening prayer was expected - at 7:40 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. - as well as at Sunday services in the college chapel. Breakfast was at 8:10 a.m., lunch at 1:00 p.m., and dinner at 6:30 p.m. Doors closed at 11:00 p.m. No "spirituous" liquors were allowed "unless prescribed by a physician for medical purposes" and smoking was "absolutely prohibited." Students were required to wear the college gown in chapel, at lectures, in the dining hall and at all public gatherings at the college.[43] Vance did experiment with the system of self-government, appointing a student as "Acting Head of Hall" for two week terms to act as a medium of communication between students and administration. Nevertheless, after one year the system was discarded as "only partially successful."[44]

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[42] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, March 20, 1913, Ibid., 196.

[43] Regulations for Resident Students, "The Calendar of Latimer Hall, Vancouver, B.C.," (1911-1912), p.27.

[44] W.H. Vance, Report to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 15, 1913, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p. 200.

Despite the strict regulations, however, there was time for activities of a less academic nature. The students, who came not only from British Columbia, but from England and the Orient as well, under the auspices of evangelical societies such as the C.M.S. and the C.& C.C.S., formed a lasting fellowship. Some participated in sports at the McGill University college, others formed an active debating society. All found ample time for mischief. K.B. Frampton recalled such times of exuberance:

> "I remember Bertie Wardle bringing home a starfish, which we placed in the bed of someone who always went to bed late. The shrieks in the middle of the night and the battle that followed must have aroused the neighbourhood!"[45]

Such was the everyday atmosphere at Latimer Hall.

Life at St. Mark's was not dissimilar. The house on 1249 Davie Street was not as spacious as that on Haro Street. One room served as chapel, lecture room and common room, the altar having to be set up and taken down twice a day. Accommodation for students was equally confining, most being housed on the third floor, consisting of three rooms and a space at the top of the landing whose only window "looked up to heaven."[46]

Determined to turn out "men with a firm grip of the true principles of the Anglo-Catholic and Reformed

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[45] Frampton, *Via Media*, p.15.

[46] N.D.B. Larmonth, "Early Days at St. Mark's," *Ibid.*, 17.

Church of England,[47] Seager held aloft two basic ideals, described by N.D. B. Larmonth, a graduate of the class of 1919:

> First, there was to be only one rule, and that was a moral sense of responsibility. This was the students' guide to attendance at Chapel, lectures, and whatever event took place in connection with life in the Hall. We were expected to be there, and that was that. The other ideal was for each one of us to give the first five years of our Priesthood to the Church as celebate; if we did, the Bishops could send us wherever the need was greatest.[48]

Besides a sense of moral responsibility and dedication, a rigorous dosage of the required subjects, using of course, the alternative texts which favoured high church traditions, and pastoral experience in the surrounding community and in the summer mission field, completed the requirements.

Assisting Seager was the Rev. W.T. Keeling, formerly a professor at an exclusive preparatory school in England, "Philbirds". His appointment to the staff of St. Mark's was strongly opposed by Perkins, who in a letter to the Bishop of New Westminster, described in detail Mr. Keeling's unfortunate record of bankruptcy with the concluding statement that:

> It is amazing to me that such a man should have been entrusted with any duty or responsibility such as that of guiding the minds of students for the Ministry at St. Mark's.

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[47] C.A. Seager, "St. Mark's Hall," British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society Yearbook (London: 1913), p.187.

[48] Larmonth, Via Media, p.17.

> I can only say that if St. Mark's is going to be run on such lines as these, and if Seager and his Council are going to appoint men to offices in that institution with so very little guarantee as to their past character as appears to have been the case with Mr. Keeling, then my confidence in St. Mark's, its Council and its Principal is absolutely shaken, and I heartily regret ever having lifted one finger in its behalf.[49]

Obviously unconcerned by Perkins' petulance, St. Mark's retained Keeling on staff as professor of Old Testament and Patristics. Although no mention is made of his academic contributions, his personal concern for the students endeared him to all.

In 1916 Seager resigned and after a year's lapse with no principal, St. Mark's appointed the Rev. Charles Harper Shortt,[50] a missionary in Japan, as new head. Shortt was particularly adapted to the needs of St. Mark's in 1918. He was a bachelor who could live in the hall with the students on a salary that would not support a married man. Furthermore, his experience in the Orient was deemed particularly relevant to the training of clergy in a province in which the oriental problem was growing daily more serious.[51] A kind and saintly man, Shortt was small of stature, but great in faith. His deep Christian commitment and his ability to see the best in every student, earned him the affectionate title of "Dad" Shortt.

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[49] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, February 19, 1914, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," p.217.

[50] Charles Harper Shortt was born in Port Hope, Ontario in 1858. Educated in London, Ontario, and at Trinity College, Toronto, he was ordained deacon in 1881 and priest in 1882. Curate and rector of the church at Woolbridge, Ontario, from 1881 to 1891, he became the founder and first rector of St. Cyprians, Toronto, in 1891. From 1900 to 1918 he served as missionary to Japan, returning to Canada to take up the principalship of St. Mark's in 1918. In 1920 he became Warden of the newly amalgamated Anglican Theological College, retiring in 1933. He was extremely interested in the realms of church music and classical and ecclesiastical architecture.

Many of the students at St. Mark's were older men who had been long separated from books and study. Nevertheless they were soon earnestly immersed in their studies and in the general college life. Of the twelve original students in 1912, only one was Canadian, the rest coming from England, Scotland, Ireland and Japan.[52] Similar to students at Latimer Hall, most were sponsored by missionary societies, only in this case, by high church organizations such as the S.P.G. Canadian registration increased as the decade progressed, although overseas students still represented a significant portion of the student body. A student literary society was organized, its main activity being the debating of issues ranging in topic from a comparison of the press and the pulpit as means of effective communication to an evaluation of the merits or demerits of universal suffrage should it be introduced in Canada.[53] Sports and informal fun were also part of college life.

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[51] Letter from the Bishop of Kootenay to C.H. Shortt, May 8, 1918, Correspondence of Principals Vance and Shortt (A.T.C. files).

[52] Larmonth, Via Media, p.17.

[53] Debates on January 13, 1915 and October 14, 1914, "Student's Literay Society, St. Mark's Hall:Minute Book".

As at Latimer Hall, finances were always a pressing worry. As Seager explained, although "the utmost economy is practiced in the management of the Hall", there was always the unavoidable deluge of "overhead" expenses which required a constant rejuggling of the budget.[54] The Women's Guild, interested farmers and faithful subscribers did all within their means to support the hall. Nevertheless, the council's urgent plea in 1919 that students in arrears quickly settle their accounts indicated the stringency with which the hall was run.[55]

Coupled with the internal problems of the separate halls were the difficulties encountered as the two strove to work together within the bounds of the Anglican Theological College. The first hurdle was a direct challenge of the validity of the central organization itself. The Rev. Owen Bulkeley, vicar of the Church of St. Mary, South Hill, Vancouver, had first taken issue with the Anglican Theological College in 1913 concerning supposed plans for co-operation with other theological colleges in matters of education. The fear was not unfounded, for before the emergence of

[54] C.A. Seager, "Corporation of St. Mark's Hall: Annual Meeting," Across the Rockies, VI (September, 1915) p.205.

[55] Council Minutes of St. Mark's Hall, May 6, 1919, Correspondence of Principals Vance and Shortt (A.T.C. files).

St. Mark's, Latimer Hall had taken steps toward such co-operation. In January, 1912, a meeting of Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist representatives had appointed a committee to approach the government regarding a common system of heating and lighting for the theological colleges that would be built on the new University of Biritsh Columbia campus. Vance had not agreed to the proposal of a common divinity hall as plans for a new Latimer Hall were too far advanced. Nevertheless, all agreed on the benefits of a common tutorial department and joint lectures on such non-controversial subjects as Apologetics, Elocution, Child Psychology and Pedagogics. Vance's personal dream was the institution of a scheme similar to that underway in Montreal, in which the Anglicans, Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians had combined their faculties so that facilities would be open to all students. Certain subjects were retained for denominational instruction, but nearly five-sixths of the program was taken in common. Vance reassured his council that such a scheme did not mean church unity. Nevertheless, he stated, "It does mean co-operation which may in time pave the way for a measure of church unity."[56] Aware of strong opposition, Vance continued to promote the "Montreal Scheme." The Anglican Theological College, however, had not formally considered such a proposition and reacted strongly against Bulkeley's accusation that it had. Nevertheless at the same meeting a motion restricting instruction in the college to Anglican teachers only and prohibiting any agreement with other communions unless sanctioned by the New Westminster diocesan synod was defeated.

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[56] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 15, 1913, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.200.

Unsatisfied with the outcome of his first motion, Bulkeley presented another at the 1914 synod meeting that attempted to undermine the very supports upon which the Anglican Theological College rested. It recommended simply

> That this Synod can no longer give its moral and financial support to what is known as "The plan for Theological Education in the Church of England in the Province of British Columbia as finally amended .[57]

After lengthy debate, the motion was defeated 112 to 29. The Anglican Theological College had overcome the first hurdle.

The next test pertained to co-operation in lecturing between the two halls. The first joint lectures were held in Latimer Hall on February 12 and 13, 1913 when Bishop Roper of Columbia gave a series of talks on "The Modern Interpretations of the Person of Christ." Arrangements for whole courses to be taken in common took much longer to emerge. Part of the difficulty lay in the apprehensions both sides experienced concerning the teaching capabilities of the other. As Vance rather haughtily remarked," Our difficulty will be to see that

[57] "Second Day," Journal of the Thirty-Second Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (June 10-11, 1914), p.29.

the same high standard which we aim at is maintained by the joint arrangement."[58] Another difficulty, according to Vance, was the fact that St. Mark's "teach books. We teach subjects," a matter which must be decided upon.[59] Perhaps the greatest obstacles to full-fledged co-operation were the lack of funds and the interference of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S.

At a meeting of the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College on May 5, 1915, it was recommended that steps be taken to secure the services of a common Old Testament professor at a beginning salary of $2000 a year, to be paid out of the income from invested funds. When, however, such a man could not be located, it was decided that the joint lectures would be conducted by Professors Keeling and Ellis, from St. Mark's and Latimer Hall respectively, the $2,000 to be divided between them. As wartime forced a tightening of budgets, however, the Anglican Theological College was forced to request the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. that the £2,000 which they had donated in 1914 for the financing of the post of Warden be used instead to support Professors Keeling and Ellis. Perkins disapproved. Completely ignoring the College's statement that the position of Warden did not exist, nor was it even contemplated, he insisted that the support of such a position was far more in accordance with the society's general aim than

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[58] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, October 15, 1914, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.233.

[59] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, November 23, 1914, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

> fretting away (I use the word in no invidious sense) of perhaps quite a large sum of money in annual doles for the payment of an inferior kind of commodity as we conceive it to be. I have no desire to find any fault with "Professor" Keeling and the other gentleman who bears that title. No doubt they are excellent persons in their own particular way. It is the object of our Society however to aim at higher game, so to speak, than these and we believe that in so doing we are really acting in the best interests of the Church in the Far West in the long run.[60]

A compromise was finally agreed upon, in that the money in question could be "temporarily" used to relieve the present distress, "but only on the most distinct understanding that such employment be in the nature of a loan to be repaid by the Board of Governors at such times and such a rate of interest as may be deemed reasonable and suitable by my Committee."[61] Although not wishing to be "difficile" or "intransigeant," Perkins and the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. had, by their narrow, patronizing attitude, made it extremely difficult for the Anglican Theological College to again accomplish even the simplest of co-operative experiments.

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[60] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, July 19, 1916, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.44.

[61] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of Caledonia, July 19, 1916, *Ibid*., 42.

Constant competition between the two halls, even in the most trivial matters, kept the Anglican Theological College in further turmoil. In common examinations close tabulation was kept on which hall gained the highest honours. Inter-collegeate debates provided another jousting ground. In 1915, Vance reported "with special pride" that for the third year in succession Latimer Hall had defeated St. Mark's in the debates, this year winning the Wesbrook championship shield.[62] Even in the numbers graduating the halls sought to outdo each other. In 1912 Vance wrote to J.D. Mullins pleading that the C.& C.C.S. switch one of its final year men from Wycliffe to Latimer Hall. The matter was urgent, stressed the principal:

> St. Mark's has brought a final year man from Trinity in Toronto so that they may have a graduate next year. The first question people ask about the college is regarding the graduates. I dread the necessity of having to confess that they have a graduate while we have none next year. We all feel it is most important to have graduates each year.[63]

When a graduate for 1913 did not appear, Vance hastened to assure Latimer Hall's supporters that having no graduate was "a necessary break." After all, it was the hall's policy "not to rush men out too quickly."[64]

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[62] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, March 18, 1915," Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.240.

[63] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, August 28, 1912, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[64] "Latimer's Third Successful Year," Vancouver Daily Province, May 8, 1913, p.17.

Such rationalizations were indicative of a continuing party spirit.

Since its inception, the Anglican Theological College had been plagued by problems - interference of British missionary societies, the day-to-day struggles of running separate institutions, and internal bickerings within the larger body of the central institution. The party rivalry that pervaded all interactions, whether in dealings with the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. or within the College, greatly lessened its effectiveness as a co-operative institution. Latimer Hall and St. Mark's were still too preoccupied in establishing separate identities to pay much heed to the call of unity. Bishop DuVernet's vision was being severely tested.

The greatest test however came from outside forces which demanded concerted action if the Anglican Theological College was to retain its credibility. In the face of world-wide issues that made theological differences seem petty, Bishop DuVernet's challenge again confronted the British Columbian church.

Chapter IV

Amalgamation

Latimer Hall and St. Mark's had been products of the nineteenth century, the issue of division. The second decade of the twentieth century marked the beginning of a new era, as Bishop Doull so aptly described it in 1916:

> We are living in a different age from the age which closed on the first few days of August in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fourteen...The world as we knew it before August, 1914, we shall never know again; it is gone, gone forever, and it can never be restored or reconstructed.[1]

War had shoved the well-sheltered church in British Columbia into the mainstream of world events. With her men fighting overseas and citizens manfully struggling along at home, the church could no longer remain oblivious to broader concerns, hemmed in by narrow ecclesiastical horizons. In an atmosphere in which old values and assumptions were being rejected, the Anglican church was forced to re-evaluate its ministry. In terms of theological education this meant a re-consideration of the "Plan" and the division it still harboured.

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[1] A.J. Doull, "The Primary Charge of Rt. Reverend Alexander John Doull, D.D., First Bishop of Kootenay," Journal of the Thirteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 21-22, 1916), p.14.

The War

The war brought with it turmoil and confusion. Yet in the midst of this, Bishop Doull was aware of a message for the church:

> All will be changed, for God is speaking through the cloud, and, after God speaks, those to whom he has spoken can never be the same. We shall either be better or very much worse. God is speaking, calling the nations of the earth back to Himself, showing them, clearly and unmistakeably, the results of forgetting Him and living in open and careless disregard of His laws and commandments.[2]

God had a purpose in the War, and until his people were prepared to change, the conflict would continue. The church's responsibility was to initiate this change. To both Bishops Doull and DuVernet, the first step was the development of an increased social conscience.

The Anglican church in Canada had been cautious in jumping onto the social gospel bandwagon, remaining essentially conservative and somewhat parochial in outlook. The war jarred the church out of its introspection, however, bringing an awareness of the extent of social change and the need for political and social action. One of the most outspoken social prophets in the ranks of the Anglican church in British Columbia was Bishop Doull. In his primary address to the Kootenay synod he enumerated the apparent social evils. His over-riding concern was for the province's preoccupation

[2] _Ibid_.

with materialism - the "god of the people." Proof of this lay in the scarcity of beautiful churches, "palaces of finance and commerce" taking priority.[3] Another sign of distance from God was the desecration of his Holy day:

> Where the Lord's Day is kept and honoured, there religion flourishes; and where religion flourishes, there prosperity abounds.
>
> Where the Lord's Day is neglected, there religion languishes; and where religion languishes, there national prosperity and national welfare are on the wane.[4]

The latter was amply demonstrated by the growing abuse of alcohol. Bishop Doull was a keen supporter of prohibition, not because alcohol was in itself evil, but because the country's lack of Christian values inhibited its self-control. The church's responsibility was to act as a national conscience, exerting such control.[5] Another sign of social decay was the "white slave traffic" and consequent red light districts. This trade "in the bodies and souls of women" was a disgrace to British Columbia in particular, the only province of Canada "where municipal and provincial sanction is accorded to the existence of such dens of iniquity and of shame."[6]

One remedy for many of these evils lay in religious education in the schools, the bishop felt.

[3] Ibid., 7.

[4] Ibid., 18.

[5] Ibid., 19.

[6] Ibid., 22.

"A nation's greatest asset is the character of its men and women," sober, God-fearing and righteous. As long as such education was prohibited, however, men and women would grow up defective in the knowledge which alone could lead them in the path of truth.

Bishop DuVernet saw another potential solution, the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of British Columbia in 1914.

> Too long has the organized Church of Christ held aloof from united action expressed in legislative enactment in dealing with such social evils as business bribery and political corruption, intemperance and impurity, the white slave traffic, and venereal diseases.[7]

The Anglican church in British Columbia could now speak, however, "as one body...representing about one-quarter of the population of this Province, to make our united voice heard in the assembly of our Provincial Legislature."[8]

With increasing social consciousness, the war also brought more pressing and immediate problems, particularly for the Anglican Theological College and its affiliated halls. In December, 1914, Bishop DuVernet had written Vance, sharing his most recent frustrations concerning the work in his diocese:

> I regret to say that I do not feel like undertaking another course of lectures this season. I have to be busy supplying places.

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[7] F.H. DuVernet, "Metropolitan's Address," Journal of the Second Meeting of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia (May 3-4, 1917), p.15

[8] Ibid.

> It was inevitable that a Missionary Diocese like this without as yet one self-supporting parish, and almost entirely dependent upon outside donations should be hard hit by the war. At any time it is most difficult to estimate our available resources for the coming year as the M.S.C.C. does not often contribute the amount set opposite the name of our Diocese, but this year even the amount set down is nearly $3,000 less and the B.C.C.A.S. warned us some time ago not to expect the same again for our pioneer missions. After paring down salaries as much as we could, taking off $50 to $100 finding our salary account overdrawn there was no other course to pursue than to tell two of the men, Petter and Banks that I could not guarantee their salaries after the end of this year, giving them more than three months' notice and doing my best to secure them an appointment in some more highly favoured Diocese, not purely Missionary.[9]

Bishop DuVernet and the other bishops of British Columbia needed men and money - but so did Latimer Hall and St. Mark's.

As institutions for the training of clergy to supply the missionary dioceses of the province, the two halls were hard hit by the war. It had been their ambition to recruit a local ministry and to encourage indigenous leadership in response to the needs of an ever expanding province. Demand for more clergy had been insistent before the war, as Vance had reported to the Trustees of Latimer Hall in May, 1912. "Every day the need for men is being more and more impressed upon us. If every student in the Hall were ready for ordination to-morrow he could at once be placed."[10] By 1916 the situation was acute, seven students remaining at the hall and thirteen overseas. Attendance at St. Mark's had dropped from nineteen in 1914 to eight in 1917. Furthermore, as Seager explained, "the duty of enlistment is rapidly becoming a pressure which only the physically unfit, or those whose paramount duty it is, for one reason or another, to remain, can resist."[11] With plans to raise another contingent of 24,000 men within British Columbia alone, there seemed little hope for improved attendance within the near future.

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[9] Letter from Bishop DuVernet to W.H. Vance, December 8, 1914, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

The Anglican Theological College was proud of its soldiers. As Vance remarked to Mullins concerning the five undergraduates of the hall fighting overseas "one is a private, two are lieutenants, one a captain and one a Lt. Colonel." Amongst both graduates and undergraduates "a mention, a military medal, four military crosses and a D.S.O." had been won.[12] Nevertheless the home front caused the greatest concern, and in 1918 prospects were bleak. Vance painted a realistic picture at the formal closing of Latimer Hall in April, 1918:

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[10] W.H. Vance, Second Annual Report to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 16, 1912, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.175.

[11] C.A. Seager, "St. Mark's Hall, Vancouver," British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society Yearbook (1916), pp.162-63.

[12] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, May 8, 1918 Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

> Never has there been such shortage of clergy ...Probably one hundred and fifty missions west of Winnipeg are closed today. Yet there never was a time when people needed so much the comfort and inspiration which the Gospel of Christ alone can supply. Our growth, in fact our existence, depends upon the supply of men who are willing to be trained for the work of the Ministry.[13]

In addition to the shortage of clergy was the shortage of funds. In June 1914, Vance confided in Mullins that "our finances have given us some worry for the first time. The very bottom seems to have fallen out of the money situation."[14] Both the halls and the central institution were forced to limit their budgets, at the same time intensifying their search for financial assistance. Latimer Hall received a renewed grant from the C.& C.C.S. The B.C. & Y.C.A.S. however, sharply decreased its annual assistance to the British Columbia church. Perkins explained this action in a letter to the Bishop of New Westminster:

> It is a real trial to us that we are only able to give such a limited amount of help this year, but the War and possibly other causes also, have combined to diminish seriously the resources at our disposal. Furthermore we feel obliged in view of possible future contingencies to retain in our hands a very considerable reserve.[15]

[13] W.H. Vance, Report to the Annual Formal Closing, April 25, 1918, Ibid.

[14] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, June 19, 1914, Ibid.

[15] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop of New Westminster March 19, 1915, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," p.279.

One of the "other causes" that hindered the soliciting of funds in Britain was a changed attitude in the Mother country towards Canada, partially a result of the naval issue. "I should think Sir Wilfred Laurier ought to hide his diminished head in depths of shame for the rest of his life," Perkins had written.

> I fail to see how any self-respecting Canadian could even have anything to do with him again. What would all his three reject super Dreadnoughts have meant at the present time if Canada had ever really tackled the Naval question in the same plucky way that Australia has done and for the matter of that, New Zealand too.[16]

Such resentment in Britain greatly decreased the popularity of Canadian missionary societies, making it increasingly difficult to raise funds in a country already feeling the effects of war.

With resources from England reduced, the Anglican church was forced to search elsewhere. Early in 1917 Vance canvassed eastern Canada, bringing home $1729 in subscriptions. The staff of the hall willingly accepted reductions in salaries - Vance one of twenty-nine percent and other Latimer Hall staff, ten percent.[17] Greatest dependence however lay on subscriptions from devoted churchmen within British Columbia. As the war progressed, these too were sharply reduced and the Anglican Theological College continued to face financial difficulty.

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[16] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop of New Westminster, October 7, 1914, Ibid., 268.

[17] W.H. Vance, Principal's Address to the Council of Latimer Hall, March 18, 1915, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.240.

Consequently in 1916 it renewed efforts to increase subscriptions.

The first step of the financial campaign was a resolution passed by the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College requesting

> That the Synods of the Diocese of the Province of British Columbia be requested to take such action as will result in the pressing needs of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia being brought annually before every congregation and a collection on its behalf taken up in every Church throughout the Province.[18]

An article in the first (and only) Latimer Hall Bulletin, of November, 1916, explained why churchmen ought to assist in theological education. The government, it stated, defrayed the cost of primary and secondary education, and subsidized university training. Thus in secular education, the state and the individual were partners. "The state," it continued, " drops out of the partnership when one begins the study of Theology. The partnership has to be taken up by the individual member of the Church. In Theology the Church member and the student are partners."[19] Following this challenge came a circular letter, issued on September 6, 1917 by an Archbishop's Committee, consisting of G.H. Cowan and F.C.C. Heathcote, Archdeacon of Columbia, appointed to investigate the financial status of the college. Sent to each diocese, this document explained the work of the halls and of the central institution and outlined their financial needs. Approximately $2000 was needed to pay the two colleges for the common work carried on by Professors Keeling and Ellis in 1916-17, another $2000 to cover the term of 1917-18, and $1000 for tutorial work.[20] The committee suggested that each diocese contribute in accordance with its own financial stability, apportioning the $5000 with that in mind:

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[18] Board of Governors Meeting, May 3, 1916, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

[19] Latimer Hall Bulletin, I (November, 1916) p.1.

New Westminster	$2,265
British Columbia	1,350
Kootenay	931
Cariboo	156
Caledonia	133
	$4,835[21]

The hopes of the committee were great, but the results were discouraging. By May, 1918, the dioceses of New Westminster, Kootenay and Cariboo had contributed nothing. British Columbia had sent only $225.45 of its original allocation. Only the diocese of Caledonia had fulfilled its obligation.[22] Requests for lists of potential subscribers sent to each parish priest brought similar response. As Professor Trumpour explained in reference to St. George's church in Kerrisdale:

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[20] Circular letter from G.H. Cowan and Archdeacon Heathcote, September 6, 1917, "Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College."

[21] F.C.C. Heathcote, The Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, May 1, 1918, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-23 (A.T.C. files).

[22] *Ibid*.

> I have just newly taken over the work of St. George's and its deficit also of about $600 soon to be increased by over $200 more - a serious problem for a parish of St. George's standing, and much more so that its rector is away, and naturally I have not had time to get the work in shape.[23]

Many other parishes were also too preoccupied with their own debts to give serious consideration to those of the Anglican Theological College and the two halls. Thus in 1918 prospects for the survival of the Anglican Theological College appeared gloomy with enrollment at a minimum and finances in shaky condition. It was in such an atmosphere of gloom, however, that the first steps toward greater unity were taken.

Christian Unity

On August 10, 1916, G.H. Cowan wrote to Bishop DuVernet regarding the college:

> Is there any real reason, grounded in principle, why the two Halls should continue each to teach separately such subjects as Greek and the preliminary work?... Was not your intention in framing "The Plan" that the number of common subjects should grow from more to more so long as this would be done without sacrifice of principle?[24]

Cowan felt that in a time of financial stringency and retrenchment greater economy should be exercised by the college. As he indicated to Bishop DuVernet, "If

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[23] Letter from H.R. Trumpour to G.H. Cowan and F.C.C. Heathcote, September 12, 1917, "Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College."

[24] Letter from G.H. Cowan to Bishop DuVernet, August 10, 1916, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

I have caught aright the drift of your policy it is towards the unification...of the two sections of the Church. If so, the present seems to be the psychological moment, owing to the straitened circumstances of the Halls to 'grasp the skirts of happy Chance.'"[25]
In reply Bishop DuVernet acknowledged Cowan's concern, explaining that his hope was to eventually see the halls hiring only separate principals, the rest to be handled by the central institution. He recognized the present opportunity for the advancement of greater co-operation between the halls. Nevertheless, he pointed out, the central body itself was almost bankrupt and therefore unable to give little more than verbal encouragement.[26]

The bishop did not drop the issue. Spurred on by Cowan's support, he addressed the two principals in identical letters, dated January 25, 1917. The problem was frankly presented:

> the war is bringing about a changed order of things, a greater spirit of unity manifested in many directions, and possibly it may have some influence even upon our College affairs. We should at least be prepared to consider some forward step. As Church leaders it is our solemn duty to urge our Church people to practise the most rigid economy as a patriotic duty to help pay for the war. State economists are already pointing their finger at the unnecessary overlapping and expenditure among the Churches. We shall find it extremely hard to get money to finance the Central

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[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Letter from Bishop DuVernet to C.H. Cowan, August 17, 1916, *Ibid*.

> College and the two Halls. As the President of the College I am appealing to you as the Principals of the Halls if it would not be well for us as representing the three interests to consider the whole matter afresh from the economic standpoint that we may be ready next May to meet any criticism with some practical suggestion.[27]

With a total student body of fifteen and a staff "so large as to be about two students to one professor" Bishop DuVernet was convinced that action must be taken to increase the number of common subjects. "These are days when the Church must look closely within," he added. "We must be ready for the new movement. Old barriers are breaking down."[28]

Principal Vance, however, was not convinced that such action was either necessary or feasible. Arguing that because all professors except the principals were employed part-time, thereby increasing the ratio of students to professors, Vance solidly opposed any attempts at unification. Even the present common work, he stated, had not been wholly satisfactory.

> Twice we have had to protest against the exclusively advanced critical position adopted by Prof. Keeling and to insist that both sides of critical questions should be placed before the students. Now again, I have to enter a protest along the same line. In fact the Common work has not been really tested. Until the College employs at least one man and his work proves a success I do not think we can judge whether the Plan will work out satisfactorily.[29]

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[27] Letter from Bishop DuVernet to Principals Seager and Vance, January 5, 1917, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.282.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, February 6, 1917, *Ibid*.

Furthermore, no serious complaints had arisen among Latimer Hall supporters concerning unnecessary overlapping. The most important reason for limiting further co-operation, however, was Vance's fear of the shaky position of the evangelical branch of the church in British Columbia. "The Official Church in B.C. is not Evangelical nor is it sympathetic to Evangelicalism," he stated. "To merge the work done by the Halls is to submerge Evangelicalism"[30] Thus, with Latimer Hall's security lying within the present charter, Vance was hesitant to enter any new scheme that would threaten the cause.

Vance remained adamant in this position, reporting in May, 1918, that although registration had dropped to five, suggestions that work of the halls be discontinued had been dismissed. Closing for a time would mean closing forever, Vance reasoned.

> Were we to close even for a short period the staff would scatter. We should lose our connection with our subscribers and supporters. There would no longer be a centre to which students, especially returned men of whom we hope a number will enter the Ministry, would be attracted. It is doubtful whether we would ever be able to begin the work under as favourable auspices as the present plan affords.[31]

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[30] Ibid.

[31] W.H. Vance, Annual Report of the Principal to the Trustees of Latimer Hall, May 16, 1918, Ibid., 292.

Such stubbornness irritated Perkins who, in a letter to the Bishop of Kootenay, remarked that the whole business of the Anglican Theological College was "profoundly unsatisfactory, wasteful and unbusinesslike."[32] To maintain two buildings with two respective staffs seemed to Perkins most "extravagant." At a time when all but a few English theological colleges had closed Perkins felt that those in Vancouver might at least relent enough to see beyond their narrow confines to the greater issues that lay at hand.[33]

Nevertheless, despite the urgings of Cowan, Bishop DuVernet and Perkins, Vance remained firmly uncooperative. In response to a second plea from the Bishop of Caledonia in October, 1918, Vance again dismissed suggestions for more common work. The greatest problem, he felt, lay not in the lack of co-operation between the two halls but in the shirking of responsibility by the central body, which was now several years in arrears of payment for the common work already underway.[34] Furthermore, in comparison to other Canadian theological colleges, Latimer Hall was in no worse a position and must survive in order to meet the needs of returning students. With evangelical opinion so opposed to even the slightest step toward greater unity, the whole purpose of the "Plan," as Bishop DuVernet envisioned it, seemed like jeopardy. It appeared that even in the face of world-wide holocaust church factions could not see beyond their own boundaries. Nevertheless a new force was at work within the church. Slowly and imperceptibly it tackled the barriers of church partisanship which had created the stalemate within the Anglican Theological College. By 1920, the impossible had come true. This new spirit was a world-wide movement towards Christian reunion.

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[32] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, February 1, 1918, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," p.101.

[33] _Ibid_., 100-101.

[34] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, October 16, 1918, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.298.

The Christian church in Canada had long been interested in unity. Following the consolidation of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in 1874 and 1884 respectively, a move was made toward interdenominational unity in the form of a conference on Christian unity, held in Toronto in 1889. Initiated by Anglican leaders, the conference discussed such issues as corporate union, unity in doctrine and worship, and the importance of the Holy Scripture, creeds and episcopate to each communion. The Toronto conference accomplished little in concrete action, yet it was an honest attempt to establish a common understanding in matters of deep importance to Christian communions.[35] In 1893 the first

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[35] T.R. Millman, "The Conference on Christian Unity, Toronto, 1889," Canadian Journal of Theology, III (July , 1957), p.174.

General Synod of a unified Church of England in Canada met. The matter of Christian unity remained one of concern. The General Synod of 1902 passed a resolution inviting "the earnest attention of all professing Christians to the evils arising from separation." It also asked "that prayer to God shall be continually made for that unity for which our blessed Lord so earnestly prayed," and hoped for "continued conferences with the representatives of any Body of Christians willing to consider this vital question." It further recommended the appointing of a joint committee to act on behalf of the synod in this matter.[36] The General Synod of 1905 reiterated its interest, wishing "God speed" to the Methodist and Presbyterian moves toward organic union.[37]

Similar movements had also appeared within the world-wide Anglican church. In 1908 the Lambeth Conference, responding to the call issued by those in 1888 and 1897, passed a resolution reaffirming the 1897 motion that"'Every opportunity should be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation,'" and desiring that reunion and intercommunion should ever be kept in view as a Christian object.[38] The conference's prediction of an increase in the desire for such unity saw fulfillment in the Lambeth Conference of 1920, whose major theme was the "Reunion of Christendom." As the encyclical letter stated,

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[36] "Report of Christian Union," The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada: Journal of Proceedings of the Third Session (September 3-12,1902), Appendix XX, p.159.

[37] "Report of the Committee on Christian Reunion," The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada: Journal of Proceedings of the Fourth Session (September 6-15, 1905), Appendix XXIII,p.151.

> the war and its horrors, waged as it was between so-called Christian nations, drove home the truth with the shock of a sudden awakening. Men in all Communions began to think of the reunion of Christendom, not as a laudable ambition or a beautiful dream, but as an imperative necessity.[39]

Consequently, in an appeal to all Christian people, the bishops assembled at the conference, called all those "inspired by the vision and hope of a visible unity of the whole Church" to unite the hand of fellowship in a new outlook.

> The Faith cannot be adequately apprehended and the battle of the Kingdom cannot be worthily fought while the body is divided, and is thus unable to grow up in the fullness of the life of Christ. The time has come, we believe, for all separated groups of Christians to agree in forgetting the things which are behind and reaching out towards the goal of a reunited Catholic Church.[40]

In Canada, further indication of this spirit of unity was the proposed union of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Although strongly of the opinion that this union should be finalized before a more inclusive one was attempted, the Methodist church acknowledged the Anglican appeal, stating that "the approach of the Anglican Council is peculiarly acceptable now that the world is entering upon the most important era in its history, when great divine purposes may be expected fully to bring forth their predestined fruit."[41] The post-war Christian church anticipated with eagerness a new age, one in which Christian love would overcome party prejudice and denominational bickering.

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[38] "Resolution 58," Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace (July 6 - August 5, 1908), p.60.

[39] "Encyclical Letter," Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion Holden at Lambeth Palace (July 6 - August 7, 1920), p.11.

[40] "An Appeal to All Christian People From the Bishops Assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920," Ibid., 27.

This growing enthusiasm for reunion also appeared in British Columbia, not only among different communions but also within the divided Anglican church itself. Within the latter communion, the foremost advocate of this movement had, from the beginning, been the Bishop of Caledonia, whose vision constantly challenged the church to work out its differences, particularly within such institutions as the Anglican Theological College. Bishop DuVernet was not satisfied with mere co-operation.

> It is now more widely recognized than formerly that mere unity of spirit is not enough. This unity of spirit which is invisible must manifest itself in some visible organic form. There may be many different parts, each part with a different function, but the body, however complex, must be one. Co-operation alone is not enough, there must be co-ordination of different parts under one comprehensive plan.[42]

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[41] S.D. Chown, "Reunion of Christendom," Western Methodist Recorder, XX (October, 1920), p.4.

[42] F.H. DuVernet, "Church Union," Canadian Churchman, XLV (November 14, 1918), p.728.

Others shared his vision. Bishop Doull expressed in 1916 a desire "to create an atmosphere in which the spirit of unity can grow and develop."[43] It was Principal Seager of St. Mark's Hall, however, who took the strategic step which made "co-ordination" possible. As N.D.B. Larmonth records, "He realized how ridiculous it was to have two halls, and he felt that if he resigned and Mr. Shortt took over, that amalgamation would take place."[44] Seager himself remarked to the Rev. Robert Connell of Victoria that although he felt "a certain satisfaction" about his small share in the establishment of St. Mark's, "the era of development belongs to other hands. I feel that I did all I could do."[45] One half of the Anglican Theological College was prepared to unite. It now remained for Principal Vance and evangelicals to be convinced.

As Bishop DuVernet remarked in an article to the Canadian Churchman in 1918, an important factor in spurring on Christian unity was "a right public opinion upon the subject."[46] In matters concerning the amalgamation it was public agitation that helped to persuade

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[43] Doull, "Primary Charge," Journal of the Thirteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 21-22, 1916), p.30.

[44] N.D.B. Larmonth, "Early Days at St. Mark's," Via Media, p.17.

[45] Letter from C.A. Seager to Robert Connell, August 30, 1918, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-23 (A.T.C. files).

[46] DuVernet, "Church Union," Canadian Churchman, XLX (November 14,1918),p.728.

Vance that union was necessary and feasible. On January 28, 1920, Vance reported to the provincial synod on the Anglican Theological College. Immediate criticism arose concerning the number of teaching staff and the cost of maintenance for such a small student body. The result was a motion, carried unanimously, which stated that

> Whereas the Provincial Synod feels the need of closer unity in Theological education in the Province, Resolved, that the whole subject of closer co-operation be referred to the Bishops of the Province, the Principals of the Halls and two laymen to be elected on the nomination of the Nominating Committee, and that they report their findings in the name of this Synod to the Board of Governors at its next meeting for such action as they may deem advisable.[47]

Two days later the students of the Anglican Theological College submitted a resolution to the president, Bishop DuVernet, stating that whereas the matter of closer co-operation was under study by the provincial synod, the student body wished to notify the appointed committee of its "unanimous opinion that there should be one united student body living in one hostel."[48] The report of the committee was presented to the Board of Governors on February 5, 1920. Thankful for "the spirit of absolute harmony" that had prevailed at its meetings and "with bright hopes for the influence of this spirit not only on theological education but on the whole work of the Church,"[49] the committee reported its findings. Discovering a unanimous desire for co-operation by all members, the committee recommended that "The Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, recognizing the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Church, undertake to unite within its life, teaching and worship, the varied schools of thought which have always had a place in the Church."[50] Instead of slowly developing the old plan, the committee had seen fit to revise it, although preserving the flexibility of the older arrangement. It was recommended that the two halls discontinue their work and that all teaching be undertaken by the College. The report was signed by the bishops of Caledonia, New Westminster, Kootenay and Columbia, Messrs. J.R. Seymour and A. McCreery, and Principals Seager and Vance.

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[47] "Resolution," Journal of the Third Meeting of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia (January 28 - 29,1920), p.20.

[48] Letter from the Students of the Anglican Theological College to Bishop DuVernet, January 30, 1920, Signed by G.C. Brown and J.S. Turkington, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

In less than two years Vance had moved from a stance of stubborn resistance to any suggestion of further co-operation to one advocating complete amalgamation. As he explained to Mullins: "I felt that the new spirit brought about by the war, the small number of students and the impossibility of getting the average man to fully appreciate the old plan raised a serious question for Latimer."[51] The war with its accompanying difficulties coupled with a growing spirit of brotherhood had mellowed Vance's opposition. Amalgamation was now possible.

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[49] To the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, February 5, 1920, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

[50] *Ibid*.

The new plan accepted by the Board of Governors on May 5, 1920, called for the dissolution of the councils of the two halls, to be replaced by equal representation on the Board of Governors. Although Vance offered to retire,[52] he was appointed principal of the new college, and Shortt, Warden or Dean. As principal, Vance was responsible for all matters relating to the internal economy of the college and for reporting upon the general conditions to the Board of Governors. Warden Shortt, as a bachelor, was responsible for the supervision of residence and "the spiritual and physical welfare" of all students.[53] Vance was to teach Liturgics and Practical Theology; Shortt, Apologetics and Church History. Trumpour was appointed professor of New Testament and Dogmatics, while Keeling was to teach Old Testament and Patristics. In matters of ritual and ceremonial, a working compromise was reached. Vance reported the result to Mullins: "I have agreed to place a cross on the table. The lights are to be done away with; also wafer bread. They had both of these. The Eastward position is to be optional. Vestments are not allowed."[54] St. Mark's building was sold, Latimer Hall being kept as a temporary site. Even the Woman's Aid of Latimer Hall and the Women's Guild of St. Mark's amalgamated, forming the Woman's Guild of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia.

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[51] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Mullins, May 15, 1920, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[52] *Ibid*.

[53] To the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, February 5, 1920, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

Most reaction to the new amalgamation was favourable. Within British Columbia the four bishops were in agreement. To Bishop DuVernet it was the realization of his fondest hopes. Bishop Schofield of Columbia's[55] comment was also one of strong approval.

> I do not know of any document which I have ever set my hand to, which I have been more thankful about...The present situation has always been hampering and confining to me,

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[54] Letter from W.H. Vance to J.D. Jullins, May 15, 1920, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[55] Charles DeVeber Schofield (1871-1936) was born in St. John, N.B., and educated at King's College, Windsor, N.S., and in Edinburgh and Leeds, England. Ordained deacon in 1896 and priest in 1898, his first parish was in Portsea, England. In 1899 he became rector of Hampton, N.B., moving on to Sydney, C.B. in 1904. In 1907 he was appointed Dean of Fredericton, N.B., a post he held until his appointment as Dean of Columbia in 1915. Upon the death of Bishop Scriven of Columbia, who had held the bishopric for only one year, Schofield was consecrated Bishop of Columbia in 1916. He remained in this position until his death.

> and now I feel we are letting in the fresh winds of heaven, which will inspire... the Anglican Church in these parts.[56]

The Bishop of Kootenay reported to his synod "with great thankfulness" of the amalgamation which recognized "all schools of thought" within the Anglican church.[57] Similarly the Bishop of New Westminster praised the move, mindful of the careful planning since the Anglican Theological College's institution that made such a maneuver possible.[58]

Response in the east was mixed, Vance reported to Bishop DuVernet in March, 1920. "In Ottawa I saw Archdeacon Snowden and Bishop Roper and Bishop Richardson. The first was delighted with the news of affairs here. The second thought it was almost too good to be true. The last was much pleased."[59] Dr. Cody stated, however, that "he did not know local conditions and that he would like full guarantees of the future." Principal O'Meara was "non-committal," and, as Vance rather unkindly remarked, still "living in about the year 1870."[60]

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[56] Letter from Bishop Schofield to W.H. Vance, February 10, 1920, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[57] A.J. Doull, "Bishop's Charge," _Journal of the Sixteenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay_ (June 15-16, 1921), p.26.

[58] A.U. DePencier, "Bishop's Charge," _Journal of the Thirty-Seventh Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster_ (June 8-9,1921), Appendix A, pp.151-52.

[59] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, March 8,1920, Folder of Clippings and Minutes on the Anglican Theological College (A.T.C. files).

[60] _Ibid._

The most interesting reactions came from supporters in England. Both Mullins and Perkins were pleased with the union, but for strictly partisan reasons. Mullins assured Vance that it was a wise move in that "You have thus secured at any rate an equal voice for evangelicals in the training of the clergy with those of other parties, and have at any rate ensured that no unduly High Church bias shall be given to the future ministers of the British Columbian Church."[61] Perkins was not surprised at the news, certain that the great expense of running two theological colleges would eventually necessitate union. His comment in reference to the evangelical party revealed his own party bias:

> I have heard from another source that Vance and his precious concern have been in a shaky position for some time past. I imagine that the Protestants will hardly have come forward in this way had they not felt themselves to be in rather a tight corner.[62]

Had the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. known from the beginning that Bishop Dart's plan would have blossomed forth into "this double-barrelled affair," Perkins announced, it would not have touched it "with a barge pole."[63] Nevertheless, the society was in favour of the present arrangement. Perkins' only hope was "that the concessions made to the Protestants (for I take it some concessions must have been made) will not amount to a very great deal, and that the Catholicity of the whole thing is not in any way impaired."[64]

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[61] Letter from J.D. Mullins to W.H. Vance, June 7, 1920, Folder of Clippings and Minutes of Latimer Hall (A.T.C. files).

[62] Letter from J. Perkins to the Bishop of New Westminster, March 3, 1920, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," pp.336-37.

[63] *Ibid.*

By 1920 the impossible had become reality. Confronted with a world seemingly choked with social evil and international disorder, and with the practical difficulties of financing and administrating two separate halls, churchmen in British Columbia guided by a desire for Christian unity, were forced to re-evaluate the old traditions of party division. Realizing that such patterns were inadequate in the face of acute social problems, they were faced with the choice of maintaining the *status quo* with the risk of failure, or flexibility which would allow new growth. Confronted with these alternatives, men like Bishop DuVernet and Principals Vance and Shortt chose the second. What evolved was an innovative solution to the partisanship problem. Progress had been difficult, impeded by fear and suspicion. Nevertheless, parochial concerns were overcome by the vision of the diversity yet possible unity within the Church of England. Latimer Hall and St. Mark's, remnants of a past era, had been incorporated into the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia, a symbol of hope in a new age. Whether this symbol would crumble or stand firm, however, remained to be seen.

[64] *Ibid*.

Chapter V

The Test
1920 - 1927

As in any new institution, the first years after the amalgamation of the Anglican Theological College were difficult. There were many demands made upon its resources, both secular and spiritual, as the province and the church continued to grow. Nevertheless, for the time, the college was preoccupied with the task of consolidation. After twelve years of bickering the two parties would not settle down in peace and harmony immediately. Vance had been reluctant to enter the union, but once the reins were placed in his hands, he looked boldly ahead to what the new institution might achieve. Yet he was ever aware of the pitfalls that marred its path. The task lay in confronting these in such a way that the college learned and grew from its struggles. The first such struggle concerned the reorganization of curriculum and college life to accommodate the institution's new diversity and the presentation of the new scheme in such a way as to encourage church support.

Re-organization

In 1921, the Anglican Theological College, like most other theological institutions, still lacked students. The college Bulletin had pleaded, under the caption "Men Wanted!," for local priests to encourage active young laymen to enter the ordained ministry. "Universities throughout the world were never so crowded. Theological colleges were never so in need of men. This applies to all communions. The Church which is not sending out men and more men into her ministry is not functioning properly, and must eventually die out."[1] Nevertheless, in anticipation of increased enrollment of returned men, the college proceeded with a full and extensive curriculum. Admission was open to university graduates, undergraduates, and to occasional "special" students. The course of study leading to the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology (or as Professor Trumpour affectionately called it, "Little Theology"[2]) could be pursued by taking either two to three years of straight theology or five to six years of arts and theology concurrently. The latter route was shunned by most because of its length and heavy workload. The basic subjects had not changed - Old and New Testament, Ecclesiology, Apologetics, Dogmatics, Church History, Liturgics, Patristics and Practical Theology which included Homiletics, Pastoral Theory, Pedagogics, reading and voice culture. Sociology also became an important part of the curriculum, taught by Principal Vance. Other courses included canonics, music and mission study.

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[1] "Men Wanted!" The Anglican Theological College Bulletin, I (December, 1920), pp.6-7.

[2] E. Koss, "1919-1920 at Latimer," Via Media, p.18.

In the realm of spiritual training definite guidelines had been laid down by the General Synod of 1921. Alarmed at rapidly changing social conditions, the synod called for greater emphasis on "the spirituality, sympathy and devotion of the Clergy."[3] Greater value must be placed on devotional study of the Bible, regular chapel services, the Eucharist and times of prayer, meditation and intercession.[4] Consequently, the college scheduled regular chapel hours - morning prayer at 7:30, evening prayer at 5:30, noonday prayers for missions at 11:55, and Holy Communion each Thursday morning at 7:45 and on saints' days. Attendance was not compulsory but was expected.[5]

There were a few college supporters who found such measures inadequate. The rector of St. James Church in Vancouver, noted for its catholicity, reported to Perkins that affairs at the Anglican Theological College were depressing. "He tells me," Perkins reported to Bishop Doull, "that in his judgement the devotional side of the college life leaves much to be desired, viz. that no time is set apart for meditation, and that although they have a staff of four priests there is only one celebration in the Chapel on the six week-days."[6] This was obviously the result of too much Protestant influence, Perkins decided. He had been informed that Vance "literally runs the whole thing, and that Shortt, though a most excellent and estimable man personally, is quite incapable of standing up to him."[7] Furthermore, he was most apprehensive over Vance's appointment as lecturer on the Prayer Book. As he remarked to Bishop Doull:

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[3] "Report of the Executive Committee," The General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada: Journal of the Nineth Session (October 5-15, 1921), Appendix I, p.221.

[4] Ibid., 222.

[5] W.H. Vance, Principals' Report, May 4, 1921, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

> You know very well that there is not anything extreme or spikey about me, but that I stand for sound, sober Anglican traditions ...That however, a man whose Churchmanship is of such a very doubtful and unsatisfactory quality as that of Principal Vance should be in charge of such a particular subject as the Book of Common Prayer seems to me a most serious state of things.[8]

Such "Zwinglian" teaching as the students might receive from Vance would be a grave threat to their churchmanship. Undaunted by such criticism, however, both Vance and Shortt continued in their respective capacities for another decade.

College life was slightly less regulated. The wearing of gowns and curfew hours remained college traditions. The rules concerning the use of tobacco and liquor, so much a part of Latimer Hall's tradition, were dropped. There was little time for extra-curricular activity. The digestion of daily lectures and additional reading occupied the evening hours. Nevertheless students did participate in recreation of various sorts. For some it was an early morning dip in the Pacific; for others it was university football or basketball. Walking around Stanley Park provided exercise and fresh air when games were not available.[9] A Student Literary and Athletic Association was formed, providing opportunity for discussion and debate as a united student body. Such organization was needed in the first years of amalgamation. As the outgoing chairman of the society remarked in 1921, it was regrettable "that the student Body had not taken a more pronounced part in the College life during the past term and touched on the great difficulties which had been encountered during this first term of amalgamation:"[10] By the end of 1922, however, the president of the association was able to comment on an improved "unity of various factions" and the pulling together despite "little differences."[11]

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[6] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, July 3, 1923, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," pp.169-70.

[7] Ibid., 169.

[8] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, December 1, 1921, Ibid., 152.

The college buildings were conducive to student cohesion. Unpretentious and rather dowdy, the original Latimer Hall at 1549 Haro Street and the house next door at 1542 Haro provided lodging for the new Anglican Theological College of British Columbia. The two were joined by a wooden bridge between the verandahs. The first floor of the original building housed the principal, offices, library, common room, the warden's study ("smokey tepee"), kitchen, pantry and other cupboard space.[12] The first floor of the second house was devoted to classroom space. The second and third floors of both accommodated the resident students. A small dormitory stood at the rear of the chief residence, containing eight sleeping cubicles, and labelled the "Vatican."[13] Occupying part of the back lot of the second residence was the chapel, a remnant of old St. Mark's College. The Woman's Guild continued faithfully to supply the new institution with food and other household goods. After each "Annual Pickle Push", Glen Stevenson, a graduate of 1926, records:

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[9] G. Stevenson, "Over Denominational Frontiers,"pp.3-4 (A.T.C. files).

[10] Meeting of May 4, 1921. "Theological College of British Columbia Minute Book: Student Body, November 8, 1920 - March 22, 1922."

[11] E.O. Robathan, *President's Report*, *May 1, 1922*, "Students Literary and Athletic Association Minute Book."

> All students combined in a fatigue party to stow away in basements and cupboards the generous gifts that included anything from a jar of jelly to a twenty-four inch vegetable marrow. The huge cabbages found their own way down the basement steps. Prime pumpkins that looked like minature Gibraltars received special care in view of Hallowe'en. Having stored everything away with a neatness peculiar to the stronger sex, the "fatigue party" retired to the common room where Pratt presided at the grand piano during the singing of "All is safely gathered in."[14]

The Guild also provided bursaries for needy students and added regularly to the college's building and maintenance funds.

There were problems concerning staff and other college officials. Bishop DuVernet, president of the college, died in 1924. His death was felt keenly by the college, for with his "keen knowledge" and "infinite patience," he had guided the college through many rough seas. In tribute to his leadership, the Anglican Theological College Bulletin recorded:

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[12] G. Stevenson, "An Adventure in Faith," p.2 (A.T.C. files).

[13] Ibid., 3.

[14] Ibid.

> His parentage, his education and his variety of work in east and west gave him that breadth of view which, added to his deeply devotional spirit and singleness of purpose, made him so effective in his contacts. Before coming west he had been a large factor in welding together the old Canadian Church Missionary and Domestic and Foreign Missionary Societies into what we now know so familiarly as the M.S.C.C. The spirit of unity thus exemplified was shown in this province by his very fine contribution in bringing about the present unity in Theological education.[15]

The college came close to losing Trumpour the same year, when he was offered the positions of canon at St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg and professor of dogmatics at St. John's college. He decided to remain at the Anglican Theological College and to continue in the parish of St. Helen's which he had originated. Even Vance was invited to leave, having been offered the position of minister of education in the provincial cabinet. As Stevenson remarked: "There was almost certain possibility that his wonderful power of organization, his intellectual ability, his concentration on detail, his grasp of intricate problems, his clear and concise presentation of these to any audience would no doubt have assured him

[15] "Memorial of Bishop DuVernet's Death," Anglican Theological Bulletin, V (November, 1924), p.1.

a very high standing in the political field."[16] Nevertheless Vance too refused to leave the Anglican College, choosing instead to devote his talents to the strengthening and uplifting of the new institution.

One of Vance's chief tasks was public relations with churchmen in all parts of the province. One means of contact was the quarterly college Bulletin. In the April issue, 1921, the governing system of the college was explained

> Each congregation, at the annual vestry meeting, elects its delegates to the Diocesan Synod. These, together with the Rector, constitute the parochial representation in the Synod. Each Synod in the Province elects three Clerical and three Lay representatives to the Board of Governors of the College. These six, together with the Bishop of the Diocese, constitute the Diocesan Representation on the Board. The four Bishops with the fifteen Clerical and fifteen Lay Representatives together with twelve appointed members (representing the former Councils of Latimer and St. Mark's) constitute the Board of Governors of the College. This Board controls the College, makes all appointments, determines its policy and handles all funds of the College.[17]

"So," it diplomatically concluded, "the individual member of the Church has a direct and democratic interest in the government of the College. In other words, the College is the child of the Church."[18] Further propaganda was spread through the frequent preaching engagements of both Vance and Shortt to all corners of the province. As the Bulletin reported in February, 1924, Vance had preached eighty-five times in fifty different churches since the beginning of the fall term, from Duncan and Alberni on the Island to Prince Rupert, Trail, the Okanagan and the Fraser Valley on the mainland. The warden had spent the summer of 1922 preaching in Calgary and in 1923 and 1924 was responsible for services at Chemainus.

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[16] G. Stevenson, "An Adventure in Faith," p.2 (A.T.C. files).

[17] "How the College is Governed," Anglican Theological College Bulletin, II (April, 1921), p.4.

[18] "With the Faculty," Anglican Theological College Bulletin, IV (February, 1924), p.5.

Extension lectures also provided a means of contact to those parishes willing to pay the lecturers' travelling expenses . Principal Vance listed a variety of lecture topics: "The Church and Labour," "Education and Citizenship," "Lambeth and Reunion," and "If I were a Layman." Shortt offered his services in subjects ranging from architecture to foreign religions such as Shintoism and Buddhism. Trumpour's list also varied, from "Cathedrals of England" to the "Book of Revelation." Keeling chose to discuss books of the Bible - Genesis, Daniel, Acts and Romans.[19] By means of such services, Vance hoped to rouse interest throughout the province for the work of the theological college and hence increase the local church's support through candidates and financial assistance.

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[19] "Extension Lectures," Anglican Theological College Bulletin, I (December, 1920), pp.5-6.

Problems at home were coupled with continuing friction with British societies, particularly concerning money matters. Perkins constantly grumbled about the college's apparent ingratitude for services rendered by the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. "We are certainly not out for the praise of men," he remarked to Bishop DePencier, "but we do think that we ought to receive an ordinary and reasonable amount of common justice."[20] One such instance concerned a shipment of books from an elderly British clergyman to the college library. The gentleman had even paid the freight charges, but had received no acknowledgement of his gift. Such "discourtesy," Perkins insisted, was detrimental to the college and to the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. For, he stated, "I have very little doubt that this parson will have nothing more to do with our Society, and will devote any offerings of his which would otherwise have reached ourselves, to some other missionary society."[21]

Another issue that sorely tried the tempers of the college staff concerned the endowing of scholarships by the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. In February, 1921, Perkins had written to Shortt notifying him of the society's intent to provide two scholarships, amounting to £60 yearly. There were certain stipulations. The scholarships were not so much for "enabling a needy candidate for Holy Orders to get through his training, but rather so as to secure the best type of man possible, whatever his antecedents may be, rich or poor."[22] Secondly, the candidate must be a Senior Matriculant and have received a degree in either Arts or Science, with honours. Finally, since it was the society's desire to get into personal touch with each candidate, he would be expected to proceed to England within three years of his ordination to the diaconate for several years experience in a highly organized English parish.[23] The society recognized that there were excellent men who were unable to reach the academic standards requiredwho needed financial assistance. Yet it preferred to leave such assistance to other societies, concentrating instead on "really good men, good in every sense of the word, spiritually and intellectually."[24]

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[20] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop DePencier, July 19, 1921, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook," p.350.

[21] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, August 17, 1921, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," p.146.

College officials reacted to these stipulations, feeling that the bursaries should be for the aid of the needy and not exclusively for the assistance of the brilliant. Furthermore, while sympathizing with the idea of training in England, the executive committee felt "that there should be no contract to that effect."[25] Vance wished the money to be placed at the sole discretion of college authorities. Perkins, however, stood firm to the society's original aims, rejecting the idea of "a somewhat unimaginative general Scholarship Fund,"[26] and reiterating the society's wish to sponsor "picked men, and...picked men only."[27] He found it difficult to believe that "a man should hesitate to accept what I should have thought most people would regard as an extremely favourable and generous offer" - a trip to England.[28] Nevertheless, the college officials refused to compromise and eventually the money granted for the scholarship was returned to the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. The Anglican Theological College had refused to be cowed by Perkins and the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. - a sign of increasing maturity and independence, not unlike that of Canada within the Commonwealth.

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[22] Letter from J. Perkins to Warden Shortt, February 12, 1921, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.49.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 50.

[25] Meeting of the Board of Governors, May 4, 1921 "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

By April, 1922, the Anglican Theological College had also finalized its terms of affiliation with the University of British Columbia. The college would come under the general regulations governing the whole university community. In matters pertaining to curriculum, however, it was free to make its own decisions. One unsatisfactory aspect of the negotiations had been the university's determination to restrict "religious knowledge options" to arts students who had explicitly stated their intention to graduate in theology. This would allow them a choice of Hebrew, Greek, Biblical Literature, Church History, Christian Ethics, and Apologetics as a replacement for an arts option each year of their undergraduate program. Nevertheless, those merely interested in theology, with no intention of pursuing it after graduation, would be prohibited from choosing such electives.[29] By 1922, however, this restriction had been dropped. Vance was pleased with the terms. As he stressed to the Board of Governors in May, 1922:

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[26] Letter from J.Perkins to W.H. Vance, July 3, 1922, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.65.

[27] Ibid., 66.

[28] Ibid., 65.

> The affiliation of the College with the University will be of very great value to the College. No doubt an ever increasing number of students will take Theological Options with us. We shall be looked upon as an integral part of the larger institution. It will be easier to get into touch with the various activities of the University. Through representation on the Senate we should be able to exercise greater influence upon the policy of the University. Efforts will be made next year to get into touch with the Anglican members of the Staff with a view to finding out just how we can further serve the University and bring the College before the student body. We hope also to find some way of bringing the students of the University who are Anglican into direct relationship with the College.[30]

The way was now clear to a fuller participation within the university community, an opportunity for the college to exercise its mission in the reformation of society by Christian witness and action.

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[29] The University of British Columbia: Definition of the term "Affiliation," February 16, 1921, Folder Containing Material on the Formal Opening, Lease, Organization and Affiliation of the Anglican Theological College (A.T.C. files).

[30] W.H. Vance, Report to the Board of Governors, May 3, 1922, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

By 1923, with the exception of a few scuffles, the Anglican Theological College had achieved a certain degree of stability and harmony. It had stood up to the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. It had finalized affiliation with the University of British Columbia. Furthermore, Vance was able to report to the Board of Governors that "the Finances of the College have improved, the number of students has shown a marked increase and the interest in the work throughout the Province has greatly multiplied. For all this we thank God and take courage."[31] Nevertheless, 1923 was to be a year of upheaval.

Co-operation

Co-operation with other theological colleges in matters of teaching had first been considered by Latimer Hall in 1911. Although remaining open to the matter, the Anglican Theological College, after its inception in 1911, took no definite action. The matter was again broached by Principal Smith of Westminster Hall, the Presbyterian theological college, early in 1920. As Vance reported to the council of Latimer Hall on January 15, 1920:

> Principal Smith has broached the matter of introducing the Montreal Scheme of Theological Education here...There are difficulties in

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[31] W.H. Vance, "Principal's Report," (n.d. but probably May, 1922), "Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-35."

> any scheme of this kind but the general principle appeals to me very strongly and has given satisfaction in Montreal and has been approved of by the Alumni of Wycliffe for adoption in Toronto. So far the matter has not been brought to any head but I have expressed my personal interest in the scheme and expressed the opinion that you would be glad to consider it.[32]

Consequently a committee of five was appointed to enter into discussion with similar committees of other denominations. The Methodists of Ryerson College took similar action a year later, its Board of Governors considering it "not too soon to consult with the Board of Westminster Hall, and also with the Anglican Divinity Institution, as well as with the educational leaders of the Congregational body, on the matter of co-operation in the instruction of students for the ministry."[33]

The result of these overtures was a meeting on April 28, 1922, attended by representatives from the newly amalgamated Anglican Theological College, Westminster Hall and Ryerson College. Resolutions were passed expressing a mutual desire to co-operate where possible along the lines of the Montreal scheme.[34] The next step was the presentation of such resolutions to the respective boards of governors for discussion and approval. All agreed that the scheme was not a "merger" of the divinity schools but rather a "coalition."[35] The scheme, as explained to the Methodist Conference,

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[32] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Council of Latimer Hall, January 15, 1920, "Minute Book: Bishop Latimer College," p.320.

[33] Tenth Annual Report to the Methodist Conference of British Columbia, May 17, 1921, "Ryerson College Board of Governors Minutes," pp.191-92.

[34] Minutes of the Meeting in Wesley Church, Vancouver to Consider the Issue of Co-operation between Theological Colleges in Vancouver, April 28, 1922. Folder of Correspondence and Legal Dockets of the Anglican Theological College (A.T.C. files).

> proposes the co-operation of the three colleges in such a way that they would carry on their work as one school while each retained its autonomy. Each would select, engage and compensate its own staff, register its own students, grant its own certificates or degrees, and control its own finances. But when the staff was assembled, it would work as one faculty, each professor receiving in his classes the students of the other colleges as well as of his own.[36]

To ensure that its decision was representative, the Anglican Theological College sent out questionnaires to clergy within the province, posing a number of questions concerning co-operative schemes: had the reader any acquaintance with such a scheme? what portion of courses had Anglicans taken in common? had this portion increased or decreased over time? were there any guarantees given as to the orthodoxy of the professors? had it been necessary to withdraw students from certain classes? had the scheme alienated any large number of Anglicans? had it achieved better understanding among participating communions? and what was the reader's frank opinion as to the general advisability of entering such a scheme?[37]

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[35] Eleventh Annual Report to the Methodist Conference of British Columbia, May 16, 1922, "Ryerson College Board of Governors Minutes," p.203.

[36] Ibid., 204.

[37] Letter from C.H. Shortt, May 13, 1922, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-1923 (A.T.C. files).

The matter was finally presented to the Board of Governors of the Anglican Theological College on May 2, 1923. The executive committee recommended that positive action be taken provided no sacrifice of principle was involved. The test period was to be two years. All subjects would be taken in common with the exception of Old and New Testament exegesis, Dogmatics, Ecclesiastical History and Liturgics. The resolution passed with one negative vote - that of Bishop Doull.[38] Bishop DuVernet was enthusiastic over the new proposal. In his address to the provincial synod a day later, he shared his hopes for a whole-hearted co-operative effort to achieve a combined Faculty of Theology on the new University of British Columbia campus.

> The time will soon be ripe for the erection of College buildings at Point Grey. While we need a College residence and a College Chapel, I hope it may be possible, through co-operation with the other churches, to have one fine academic building in which all theological lectures may be delivered, each theological college to have special lecture rooms in this one building in which its own differentiating subjects will be taught...The spirit of fellowship in services must be shown in the education of young men for the ministry or these very young men, who have caught the vision of a comprehensive Church, will spurn an institution which seems too narrow and exclusive to manifest the Spirit of Christ.[39]

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[38] Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Governors, May 2, 1923, Ibid.

[39] F.H. DuVernet, "Metropolitan's Address," Journal of Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia (May 3-4, 1923), p.10.

Those of the Methodist communion shared his excitement, announcing to their senate in April, 1924 that "It is a pleasure to be able to report that the session now closing, the first in cooperation with the Anglican and Methodist Colleges has been one of cordial service. The intimate relations have led to a careful study of the possibilities for closer and more effective service."[40] Such approval was not, however, unanimous, for outspoken criticism of the co-operative plan came from Bishop Doull.

In 1914, in response to a congratulatory note from Vance upon his appointment as Bishop of Kootenay, Doull had stated that "it will be my endeavour to promote the unity of the Church, and to welcome to the Diocese Evangelical men whether they be of the High or Low Church Schools."[41] By a "wise and broad minded policy," he hoped to win the confidence of the church and promote the spreading of the gospel unhindered.[42] Nevertheless in 1923, Bishop Doull firmly opposed the co-operative scheme that would allow for ever-broadening policies. As a result he announced that in the circumstances his only course lay in resignation from the Board of Governors.[43] His reasons for disapproval were set forth in his address to the Kootenay synod in June, 1923. Bishop Doull feared for the young Anglican students involved.

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[40] Annual Meeting of the Synod, April 15, 1924, "Westminster Hall Senate Minutes, 1907-1926," pp.112-13.

[41] Letter from Dean Doull to W.H. Vance, November 27, 1914, A.J. Doull Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[42] Ibid.

[43] Letter from Bishop Doull to Bishop DuVernet, May 2, 1923, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-1923 (A.T.C. files).

> No one is more anxious than I am to promote Christian Re-union, no one more ready and willing to co-operate in all possible ways with all Christian people... But I do not believe that the right way to approach Christian Union is to be found through the introduction of confusion into the minds of the young inexperienced students as to the essential difference between the church and the separate bodies, between the historic ministry of Catholic Christendom and ministries which date only from the XVIth or XIXth Centuries.[44]

Furthermore, once co-operation had begun even those subjects reserved might be jeopardized. The experiment was "dangerous" and "contrary to sound principle,"[45] a "sad ending" to the bright hope he had entertained for the future of the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia.[46] Possibly the amalgamation was premature or the differences between the evangelical and catholic schools of Anglicanism too great to cope with the difficulties of co-operation with other denominations.[47] As he explained to Vance; "My principles and yours are very different; our colours of an opposite hue, and there has been the inevitable clash. For the time being you have gained the victory and I am down and out, but time will tell and the future will decide who is really right."[48]

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[44] A.S. Doull, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Kootenay (June 13 - 14, 1923), pp.29-30.

[45] Ibid., 31.

[46] Ibid., 32.

[47] Ibid.

Principal Vance was deeply hurt by Bishop Doull's insinuation that he was seeking total control of the Anglican Theological College. Furthermore he was, he remarked, somewhat puzzled, the bishop's previous interest in reunion and "liberal attitude towards other communions" seeming inconsistent with his present stand.[49] He tried to persuade the bishop to retract his statement of resignation and to join in working through the new arrangement. Bishop Doull, however, remained stubbornly opposed to the change, even threatening to withdraw the two candidates from his diocese from the school. Bishop DuVernet and Vance dissuaded him from this action and also pointed out the illegality of his resignation from the board. The position of the Bishop of Kootenay was *ex officio* by virtue of the Act of Incorporation, and although Bishop Doull could absent himself from board meetings, he had no right to deprive his successor of his position upon the board, merely because of his own prejudices.[50]

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[48] Letter from Bishop Doull to W.H. Vance, May 19, 1923, A.J. Doull Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[49] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop Doull, May 25, 1923, *Ibid*.

[50] Letter from Bishop DuVernet to Bishop Doull, May 15, 1923, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-1923 (A.T.C. files).

The bishop agreed not to resign but remained unchanged in his views regarding co-operation.

The issue was further compounded by outside interference. Bishop DuVernet had apprehensively remarked that "If Mr. Perkins is roused by the Bishop of Kootenay we may have more trouble."[51] His fears were not unfounded. In reply to a letter from Bishop Doull, Perkins proved most sympathetic to the bishop's position. "I suppose," he remarked, "that we must resign ourselves to the fact that the Low Church element at Vancouver have succeeded in capturing the Theological College there."[52] He expressed the hope that the diocese would range itself solidly behind its bishop, cutting off all support to the college if necessary. In fact, Perkins was considering similar action for the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. "So far as our Society is concerned," he wrote, "I feel at the present moment disposed to wash my hands of the College entirely."[53] If such action were taken, the Anglican Theological College would be in an uncomfortable position. In the meantime he urged the bishop to stand firm. "I feel sure you are right, and I do hope and trust that this courageous action of yours may sooner or later make those flabby so-called Churchmen in the Far-West pause."[54] As his correspondence with Bishop Doull continued, Perkins became increasingly concerned over the state of Canadian theological education. "The Protestant Party is entrenched in Canada in a way which very few people in England at all realize," he wrote to Bishop DePencier. "I understand that they entirely control Montreal College, that even your own Trinity is going in the same direction, and apparently Vancouver Theological College is fast following suit."[55] Vance was highly annoyed at these comments and cryptically announced to Bishop DePencier that "sooner or later some decision would have to be reached as to the extent of Mr. Perkins dictation of Church policy in this province."[56]

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[51] Letter from Bishop DuVernet to W.H. Vance, August 16, 1923, Correspondence of Principals Vance and Shortt (A.T.C. files).

[52] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, June 14, 1923, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," p.166.

[53] *Ibid*., 167.

Vance was concerned not only with the negative reactions of Bishop Doull and Perkins but also with those of the Bishop of Calgary, Cyprian Pinkham.[57] Vance had returned from a visit to Ocean Falls in July, 1923, to find a letter from Bishop Pinkham stating that all the diocese's students would be withdrawn because of the Board of Governors' approval of co-operation.[58] Vance wrote at once enumerating the precedents for its action and offering to meet with officials at Calgary to discuss the issue. The Bishop refused discussion, however, and informed Vance that he would ordain two of the students immediately and send the rest to St. John's in Winnipeg. Vance was unsympathetic, rationalizing that "the loss is not so great as it would appear at first. There was really only one first class man, about two seconds and three are the type we would not encourage. Shortt says he considers only one a real loss."[59] The action was much against the wishes of both the students withdrawn and those that remained. Some of the former, reported Vance, "expressed very decided objection to the transfer but as they were under contract to go wherever they were asked to go they had no alternative."[60] One student, recorded Glen Stevenson, cited the reply of a famous actor when commanded by Julius Caesar to perform before the imperial dictator: "needs must when needs be that we fear him who makes all else adread."[61] The remaining student body sent their regrets in a letter dated October 8, 1923.

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[54] Ibid., 168.

[55] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop DePencier, July 21, 1923, "Bishop of New Westminster Letterbook,"p.383.

[56] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, August 6, 1923, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[57] W.C. Pinkham (1844-1928) was born in St. John's, Newfoundland, and educated there and at Canterbury. Ordained a deacon in 1868 and priest in 1869, he became incumbent of St. James', Manitoba and superintendent of education for protestant schools in the province. In 1882 he was appointed Canon of St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, and Archdeacon of Manitoba. His appointment as Bishop of Saskatchewan came in 1887, and of Calgary in 1903.

[58] Letter from W.H. Vance to Bishop DuVernet, July 30, 1923, F.H. DuVernet Biographical Files(A.T.C. files).

[59] Ibid.

[60] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Board of Governors, May 7, 1924, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

[61] G. Stevenson, "George Fielder, " p.2 (A.T.C. files).

The turmoil created over the issue of co-operation in theological education subsided with time. The Bishop of Calgary remained unrelenting, but the Bishop of Kootenay reassumed his position on the Board of Governors in 1927, although with the definite motive of "keeping the College on the proper lines."[62] Even Perkins mellowed, although he remained constantly alert to a possible protestant takeover. The general attitude of those involved in the scheme remained favourable, as Vance recorded in 1926.

> There has been the utmost harmony in the work and no difficulties in connection with it have arisen. I have made the usual enquiries from the staff and students as to their impressions of the co-operative scheme and as usual have found unanimous approval of it.[63]

Glen Steveson commented positively upon his experiences as a student under the scheme.

> The happiest result was the deeper knowledge, understanding and appreciation that both colleges gained of each other. There was too, an ever broadening outlook that came through friendships, through sport and exchange of professors. That charm of such personalities as Doctors Logan, Sandford and Brown led many of the students to wonder why there should have been any gulf between the different denominations in the past. A few of the Anglican students sometimes accompanied the United students to their mission centres on Sundays and assisted in the services. These happy, though perhaps unauthorised excursions had a share in bringing the churches still closer together.[64]

[62] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Doull, July 23,1927, "Bishop of Kootenay Letterbook," p.241.

[63] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report to the Board of Governors, April 28, 1926, "Minutes of the Board of Governors and Executive Committee of the Anglican Theological College."

[64] G. Stevenson, "Over Denominational Frontiers," p.1 (A.T.C. files). He is referring to the situation after church union in 1925.

All was not easy. Anglican students, many of whom came from England, entertained a healthy respect for authority and tradition that their protestant brethren lacked. Nevertheless, in view of the gospel they shared, such differences did not become priorities.

By 1925, the Anglican Theological College had weathered storms that had threatened to cast her upon the rocks. The plan of amalgamation, contrary to Bishop Doull's fears, had proven timely, and the college had grown steadily since 1920. It had experimented in co-operation and in the process had exhibited a will and determination to survive and to grow. It had also developed a healthy spirit of independence that would tolerate no outside interference. Like Canada, the Anglican Theological College was well on the road to autonomy. Vance was now free to turn his full attention to expansion and consolidation. In 1925 that meant building.

Building

In February, 1924, the call went out in the Anglican Theological College Bulletin for the British Columbia church to throw its support behind the building of a new theological college. The government had finally proceeded with the erection of permanent buildings at Point Grey. This meant one of two things to the Anglican Theological College:

> Either we must move and take our natural place of opportunity and influence in the

> development of the University or we must deny ourselves the facilities offered in the way of Theological Options to our students and cease our practical connection with that institution.[65]

"Of course," the article concluded, "we simply must accept the challenge presented to us to take our place on the University Site and our part in the University development." It would mean a "big effort" but not an "impossible task."[66]

The proposed site of the new theological college comprised nearly five acres of prize land at Point Grey, overlooking the Gulf of Georgia and English Bay. The lease was for ninety-nine years at one dollar per year, with the University providing central heating and water. The question of whether or not the Anglicans would co-operate with other theological colleges in building, as Bishop DePencier had proposed, was dismissed. As the Bulletin reported, "It was felt that it might be better to build a unit which would be complete in itself than to build one section of a much larger whole."[67]

With this aim in mind, Vance began a concentrated building campaign in the fall of 1924. The work had been considerable. First the necessary literature was prepared.

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[65] "New Buildings," Anglican Theological College Bulletin, IV (February, 1924), p.1.

[66] Ibid.

[67] "New Buildings," Ibid., VI (November, 1926), p.6.

Then some months were spent in a personal campaign for larger subscriptions in Vancouver and vicinity. In January of 1925, an appeal was made to every church in the diocese of New Westminster. Next a month was spent in the diocese of Columbia, organizing the campaign, soliciting subscriptions and and preaching on Sundays. Similar tactics were used in the dioceses of Caledonia, Cariboo and Kootenay. The result was a subscription total of $52,000.[68] Response had been generally favourable, except from the diocese of Kootenay. Arguing that financial conditions in his diocese were too severe to allow for an appeal on behalf of the Anglican Theological College, Bishop Doull refused to sanction a campaign. In 1927 he remained unchanged, claiming his diocese owed almost $20,000.[69] Other sources of aid were, however, forthcoming. The S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. had promised donations. Coupled with donations received from the Pan-Anglican Fund and the B.C. & Y.C.A.S., the building fund had risen to a total of $87,000 by 1925.[70] Nevertheless, the final goal was $125,000 and the college

[68] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report, April 29, 1925, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-1923 (A.T.C. files).

[69] Letter from Bishop Doull to W.H. Vance, January 19, 1927, A.J. Doull Biographical Files (A.T.C. files).

[70] W.H. Vance, Principal's Report, April 29, 1925, Correspondence Concerning the Founding of the Anglican Theological College, 1912-1923 (A.T.C. files).

would not ask for tenders until $100,000 at least had been raised.

The next year brought problems concerning the building site. The university was reluctant to grant a lease exempt from taxation and to improve the theological site by the installation of light, heat and water services and roads. After consultation with government officials the lease was granted, however and was extended to 999 years. Exemption from taxation was guaranteed and all services promised. Nevertheless financing remained the key issue. Although almost $100,000 had been received by 1927, many of the sources upon which Vance was dependent proved less responsive than he had hoped. In a letter dated July 20, 1926, Perkins had notified Vance of a grant of £200 toward the colleges building fund. He concluded, however, that

> It is a real sorrow to me that it is not decidedly larger, in fact it had been my own hope that we should be able to make it £500. The demands made upon us this year however especially in connection with the Caledonia Bishopric have been terrific, and it has been a choice of doing the best we could under very difficult circumstances.[71]

Perkins hoped to persuade the New Westminster Committee of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S. to send an additional grant of £100, but he could promise no more. In March, 1927, however, he received an urgent appeal from Vance for an additional £2000 for the building fund - the amount needed to reach the starting mark of $100,000. Perkins was taken aback, stating that

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[71] Letter from J.Perkins to W.H. Vance, July 20, 1926, "Anglican Theological College Letterbook," p.90.

> A sum of £400 has already been forwarded for the building...including £100 from our New Westminster Committee, and I have every hope of sending them another £500 before very long. A total of close upon £1,000 is surely a not ungenerous contribution towards the Theological College Building Fund.[72]

With Vance's frantic last-minute appeals, the college was soon ready to build. The contract was settled on April 11, 1927, and the sod turned two days later at a ceremony presided over by the Governor General, Lord Willingdon, and his wife. The cornerstone was laid on April 27, and by November, the college was completed.

The formal opening on November 9 was an auspicious occasion. The procession was led by the new Metropolitan of the province, Bishop DePencier, and by the Primate, S.P. Matheson, Archbishop of Rupert's Land. Other dignitaries included the principal and acting president of the University of British Columbia, the bishops of Columbia and Olympia, Warden Shortt and Principal Vance, Principal Smith of the new Union College, the treasurer and architect of the Anglican Theological College, members of the board, staff, students and clergy of the province.[73] Messages of congratulations flowed in from all parts of the country - from King's College, Halifax, Trinity and Wycliffe in Toronto, Huron College in London, Ontario, St. John's in Winnipeg, Emmanuel in Saskatoon and St. Chad's in Regina, from the bishops of Edmonton, Athabaska, Keewatin and Toronto.[74]

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[72] Letter from J. Perkins to Bishop Schofield, March 4. 1927, "Bishop of Columbia Letterbook," pp.251-2.

[73] "Formal Opening," Via Media, p.27.

The new building was open to inspection. Designed in "a modern adaptation of the Tudor style of Collegiate Gothic,"[75] the new college looked north-west over the gulf. It was faced with gray granite and rough cast stucco, with an asbestos slate roof, and steel casement windows. The main portion of the building was approximately 135 feet long and 36 feet wide, with a wing running north-east and the principal's residence on the north-west. The main floor housed three classrooms of varying size, one of which also served as a temporary chapel, a reading room and library, dining hall and kitchen. The second floor provided accommodation for fourteen students, Warden Shortt and a common room. The top floor housed eighteen more students. Rooms had been furnished by the Woman's Guild and the chapel, in memory of a deceased graduate, N.Y. Bartlett.[76]

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[74] Letters and telegrams found in Folder Containing Material concerning the Formal Opening, Lease, Organization and Affiliation of the Anglican Theological College (A.T.C. files).

[75] "The Opening of the Anglican Theological College," Across the Rockies, XX, No.1 (1928), p.12.

[76] Ibid., pp.12-13.

This new building signified much to the Anglican Theological College. It was concrete evidence that the experiment of 1920 had worked and that the college was firmly established in the eyes of the whole church. It was also a symbol of hope. The college could now freely expand, unhindered by limited facilities and inadequate resources. It also presented a challenge to the college. No longer preoccupied with the struggle "to be," it could now face with greater compassion the needs of the community surrounding it. The new buildings also signified the culmination of the dreams of many British Columbia churchmen and women. Although Bishop DuVernet had died in 1924 , his guiding spirit was present in the halls of the new college, for it was his vision and leadership that had led the church towards such union. To faithful supporters, it was proof of their concern. To Principal Vance, however, it was the fruition of nearly twenty years of struggle. There had been many changes during those years, not the least in Vance's own attitude. Throughout, however, his aim had been to bring the opportunity of Christian training to young men in the far west and beyond. His organizational abilities and business astuteness had given substance to Bishop DuVernet's dreams. As Bishop DePencier remarked in 1925, in tribute to his efforts on behalf of the college building campaign:

> Suffice it is to say that the work that has been done in the prosecution of the campaign for funds by the Principal of the College merits the warmest commendation. His

> thoroughness of method and his persistency in effort, combined with his unfailing cheerfulness and logical presentation of the merits and claims of the College, are qualities that have...won a great measure of success.[77]

The Anglican Theological College, under his leadership, was ready in 1927 to enter a new era in its development. The test had been met.

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[77] A.U. DePencier, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Fortieth Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (May 19-20, 1925), p. 33.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

From its beginnings in Latimer Hall and St. Mark's, the goals of the Anglican Theological College had been twofold: to meet the internal needs of the Anglican church in British Columbia and consequently, to better society's condition within the far west and beyond. The college's greatest contribution, however, lay not in the fulfillment of its intended goals but rather in the challenge it presented to the Anglican church in Canada. The amalgamated institution stood, after 1920, as a symbol of the innovativeness of the British Columbia church in dealing with the problem of religious partisanship in theological education. Such creativeness also promised to allow the college greater rein in the accomplishment of its formal goals, both of which had been only partially fulfilled by 1927.

One of the original purposes in establishing theological institutions in British Columbia was to train an indigenous clergy to meet the acute shortage that plagued the rapidly growing church. A number of factors, however, had curtailed this activity. Until 1920, the duplication of facilities had prevented any concerted plea for theological candidates. Latimer Hall and St. Mark's each issued earnest petitions for dedicated Christian ministers, but jealousy between the two over the number of graduates and bickering over the courses that students should be taught did little to entice large numbers of applicants. Furthermore, the shortage of manpower during and after the war severely affected attendance, even after internal difficulties had been solved. Of those who did graduate, many like K.B. Frampton, F.G. Shepherd and M.S. Kakuzen, returned to their homes in England and the Orient. Hence the remainder of the graduates were still too few in number to meet adequately the bishops' continuing requests for assistance.

The difficulty in recruiting clergy could be given as the reason for the college's inability to meet its second goal, for it hoped that its students would be the means by which it could reform society. Nevertheless, size was not the only reason for the college's failure. A small, enthusiastic and well-organized group could have been just as effective as a larger, more unwieldy and apathetic one. That the Anglican Theological College fell short of its mark rested in the fact that it never presented an organized front, either small or large. Instead it resorted to individual effort rather than concerted social action in its attempts to reform society.

One reason for this lack of social organization was that the Anglican church as a whole hesitated to accept the grandiose schemes of the social gospellers. It lacked their intense evangelical fervour that ignored denominational barriers. Instead the Anglican church remained primarily within its denominational confines, exhibiting what one Council of Social Service Bulletin so aptly termed "a peculiar sanity of its own" - "slow", "conservative", at times "reactionary", but always individualistic and independent in its action, uninfluenced by the clamour surrounding it.[1]

The Anglican Theological College was no exception. Students seemed to be aware of current issues. They debated such topics as universal suffrage, industrialization and its effect on social conditions, capital punishment and prohibition.[2] Nevertheless, at no time did they band together to wage war upon social injustice or to demand government action in issues of concern. Thus, the college's social impact depended upon the individual efforts of its staff and students.

Even in this area of individual service, results are difficult to determine. The staff provided extension lectures and Sunday supply for churches all over the province, a move which was gratefully acknowledged by the provincial synod. Such "loyal interest," it stated, had brought the college "into living and influential touch with all its constituency."[3] This constituency, however, remained a narrowly Anglican one. Only Principal Vance seemed able to break down denominational barriers and to interact with the community at large. As the Daily Province remarked on June 24, 1935, "He was a good citizen with a keen interest in all the problems which touch upon good citizenship and in public movements that tended to the betterment of the community he was generous of his time and energy."[4]

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[1] This bulletin, "Prohibition - A Summary" was first published in September, 1919 and reprinted in the Canadian Churchman, October 19, 1919, pp.650-52. See Richard Allen, "The Triumph and Decline of Prohibition," in J.M. Bumsted(ed.), Documentary Problems in Canadian History, Volume II: Post Confederation (Georgetown, Ont.: Irwin-Dorsey Ltd., 1969), p. 194.

[2] Students' Literary Society, St. Mark's Hall: Minute Book (A.T.C. files).

For students, limited community involvement was provided by their pastoral training which required practical experience in the teaching of Sunday schools, visiting, and the conducting of services during the winter, and in the ministering to remote mission stations in rural British Columbia or to large city parishes in Victoria and Vancouver during the summer months. Again, however, such experience limited them to within their own communion and with a curriculum that stressed academic training, they had little opportunity for extra-curricular activity within the community. After graduation the students scattered. Some, like the Rev. E.O. Robathan, a graduate of the Anglican Theological College in 1923, took up mission work along the province's west coast. Others, like the Rev. N.D.B. Larmonth, a graduate of St. Mark's in 1919, ministered to influential city churches. Still others, like the Rev. D.P. Watney, a graduate of 1927, returned to teach on the staff of the college. Certainly it was hoped that these men would provide strong and capable leadership, "a power for righteousness"[5] in their respective communities. Nevertheless such leadership depended upon individual initiative. There were no signs of the college's deliberate attempts, through its students, to work out a greater master plan for the reformation of society.

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[3] Resolution concerning the Anglican Theological College, Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia (September 7-8, 1926), pp.22-23.

[4] Vancouver Daily Province, June 24, 1935, p.6.

In its missionary outreach to the Orient, the college's techniques were similar. It provided theological training to Japanese and Chinese students, who upon completion were expected to return to their countries to spread the Christian gospel. The college made no attempt to establish regular contact with the Orient, however, depending on British societies, such as the S.P.G. and C.M.S., to recommend candidates and finance their education and on the occasional letter after graduation. Moreover, these men often faced great odds. For example, the Rev. E.S. Yui, a graduate of Latimer Hall in 1917, began his ministry in Honan province in China, one of two missionaries covering a territory of 146,000 square miles, inhabited by 9,000,000 people.[6] Nevertheless because of the Anglican Theological College's narrowly denominational approach, its lack of evangelical drive and its rejection of concerted social action, its impact within[7] the Orient, like that within the province, was severely limited.

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[5] Letter from the Rev. A.H. McGreer, Principal of Bishop's University, to W.H. Vance, October 31, 1927, Folder Containing Material on the Formal Opening, Lease, Organization and Affiliation of the Anglican Theological College (A.T.C. files).

Another reason for the college's inattention to social outreach was its preoccupation with internal affairs. The most demanding of these was the religious partisanship that split the college physically and spiritually for almost a decade. Though never totally disintegrating into what Desmond Bowen has termed an "ecclesiastical cockpit,"[7] party warfare did siphon off much of the college's spiritual energy. Quibbles over financial assistance or the number of students, intolerance of differing religious interpretations and forms of worship, and fear of even nominal interdenominational co-operation were hardly conducive to the growth of a strong social conscience. Such intense introspection diverted the college's gaze from its goals, and in its reverie, it lost its sense of mission. Until it had been proven that co-operation between party factions was possible, and that amalgamation would work, the college was not free to reach outward.

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[6] "Personals," Anglican Theological College Bulletin, II (November, 1921), p.6.

[7] Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church: a Study of the Church of England 1833-1889 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), p.186

Coupled with party struggles was the college's attempt to achieve a sense of independence and maturity, closely paralled to Canada's search for political autonomy. Guided by strong minded men like Principal Vance, who believed that the Canadian church should be financially self-sufficient, it was in constant conflict with influential British churchmen, such as Jocelyn Perkins, who insisted that as long as the Mother church provided financial assistance it should be allowed a voice in policy-making. This desire on the part of the college for autonomy, like Canada's, was not a desire for complete independence, divorced from the Mother organization. Both, however, wanted recognition as mature entities, capable of determining their own future. Hence, during the war years the struggle intensified. The Anglican Theological College reacted against Perkins' patronizing attitude which condemned the colonial college to a definitely inferior position. Declaration of autonomy came with the rejection of the B.C. & Y.C.A.S.'s proposals for the use of scholarship funds. Such confrontation did not cut ties with the British church, but it allowed greater scope for independent action. Once this was achieved, the college was again freer to look beyond its own problems to those of the surrounding community.

Meanwhile, this bickering between religious factions and the colonial and mother church, coupled with financial stress and personality conflict encountered in the administration of any institution, trapped the college in a web of introspection that prohibited it from becoming the beacon that it hoped, a symbol of Christian love in action. In other words, the Anglican Theological College did little to shape the society in which it arose. Nevertheless, in attempting to meet society's demands, the college made its greatest contribution - not within society, but within the church.

The college had arisen in response to social need. Initially there had been two theological colleges - a traditional response. For a decade, clinging to this old pattern, the church attempted to minister to social problems. It failed. Financial difficulty and party squabbling rendered the institution ineffective. New solutions were needed if the college was to become an effective force within the province's pioneer community and beyond. Hence, under pressure of war and the new problems it posed, of public opinion that scorned partisanship at a time of need, and of a spirit of unity that pervaded the Anglican church, men like Bishop DuVernet, G.H. Cowan, and Principals Vance and Shortt, their consciences heightened by a vision of greater things, were able to bring an innovative solution to bear on unique social problems. The church had no alternative - it either reformed or failed as the McBride government had done only four years earlier. Its success depended on its ability to be flexible and "unfettered", free from old traditions. Its duty lay in "'laying foundations' and building for the future.'"[8] Thus the Anglican Theological College that emerged after the amalgamation of Latimer Hall and St. Mark's in 1920 was a new creation - a creative solution to the problem of partisanship in theological education, a problem that had been clouding the college's sense of mission. Its first years were not without difficulty. Deep-rooted hostilities did not disappear overnight. Nevertheless, by 1927 the college had completed an ambitious building problem that firmly established its presence within the university community. It was on the brink of a new era, no longer so preoccupied internally that it could not look outward. Whether or not the college was able, in this new era, to recapture its sense of mission is not within the scope of this work. What is important, is that this new institution had set a precedent within the Anglican church in Canada.

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[8] A.U. DePencier, "Bishop's Charge," Journal of the Forty-first Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (April 28-29, 1927), Appendix A, p.28.

The new Anglican Theological College was a step in faith, an adventure into the unknown. It stood in stark contrast to Wycliffe and Trinity colleges, which continued to exist separately, across the street from each other, professing to be part of the same faith yet unable to work together within it. The British Columbian church, in an independent fashion quite typical of the province in which it was situated, had worked out a innovative solution for the handling of religious partisanship within theological education. With this it challenged the rest of the Anglican church.

And this challenge has not gone unheeded. In 1971 the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia entered a new amalgamation, this time with the United Church theological seminary, Union College, to form the new Vancouver School of Theology. It too is unique. Other theological colleges such as the Atlantic School of Theology and the Toronto School of Theology are mere "coalitions," each participating school retaining its own identity. The Vancouver school is an amalgamation in which both have sacrificed to create something better. As in the early twentieth century, difficulties have plagued the new amalgamation. But throughout has been the will and determination to see beyond the petty to the great call of the Christian ministry, making possible again Bishop DuVernet's dream of "unity in diversity."

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